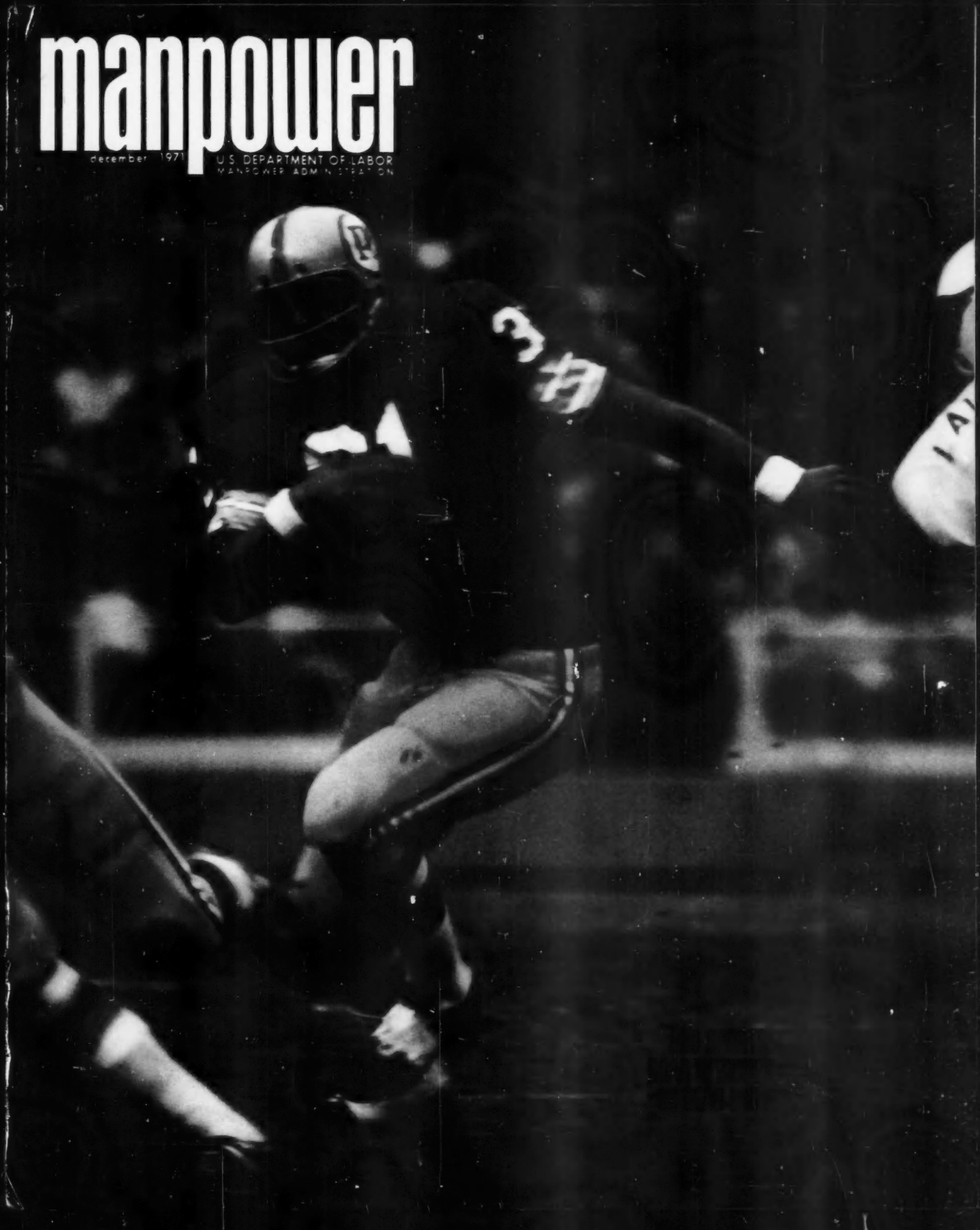
manpower

december 1971 U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION



manpower
volume 3 number 12 U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

A Word on Figures — and People

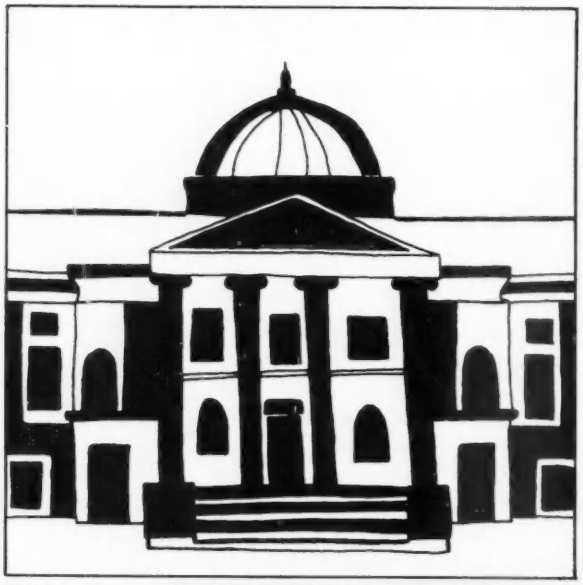
People, of course, are what manpower programs are all about. However, statistics often are needed to apply quantitative and even qualitative measurements to efforts to train people and put them to work: How many people have been trained and placed? What types of jobs do they get? How much money do they make? How long do they stay on the job? And a number of other questions that must be answered, at least in part, with numbers.

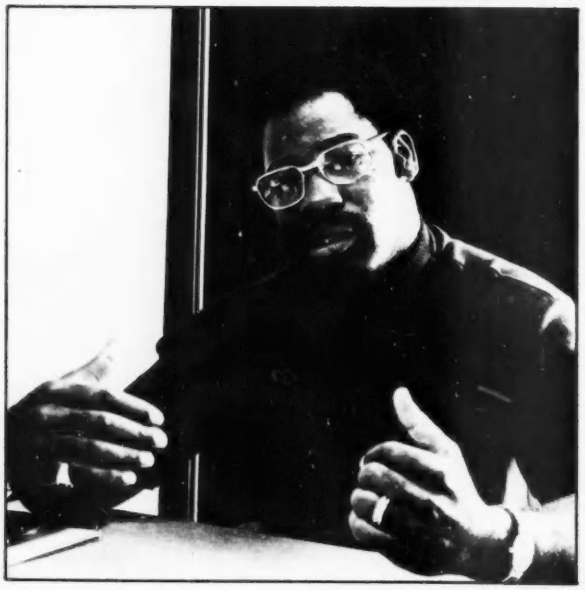
But for those of us who can't balance our checkbooks, statistics can generate as much confusion as light. We welcome some words of explanation to go along with the raw data. What all this adds up to for MANPOWER magazine is a new regular feature called Words & Figures. Actually, this month marks the third appearance of Words & Figures, so our birth announcement is a bit late. It seems our staff statistician lost count.

As for the people in this issue of MANPOWER, they include Bobby Mitchell and Joy Nunley. Bobby Mitchell's name is familiar to pro football fans across the country. For 11 years, as one of the game's premier runners and pass receivers, he was part of the glamour and glitter that lure many youngsters into single-minded pursuit of a career in professional athletics. Despite his achievements, Mitchell knows that success in professional sports is far from assured, no matter how promising a youngster's abilities. And a would-be professional athlete who doesn't prepare himself to earn a living in other fields is making a bad mistake, as Mitchell makes clear in an interview beginning on page 15.

Joy Nunley's job also is often considered glamorous. A black airline stewardess, she is one of a still small but growing number of minority women in the career jet set. The job, and the place minorities are making for themselves in it, are examined on page 8.

Ellis Rottman





XUM

KUM

XUM

articles

2 Criminal Records and Public Jobs
Study finds arrest records as well as convictions disqualify people for State, county, and municipal jobs

8 Up, Up, and Away
Racial barriers falling but airlines choose stewardesses with care regardless of color

15 Pro Sports: Road to Riches or Dead End?
Bobby Mitchell advises aspiring athletes to hit books as hard as opponents

22 The Shifting Ph.D. Job Market
Fewer opportunities expected in research but more in applied sciences

27 Extending Jobless Pay to Farmworkers
Expanded coverage seen having little impact on most farm employers' costs

departments

13 News & Notes

14 Words & Figures

32 Publications

COVER: Washington Redskins' fullback Charlie Harraway

J. D. Hodgson
Secretary of Labor

Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr.
Assistant Secretary for Manpower

Paul J. Fasser, Jr.
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Manpower and Manpower Administrator

Ellis Rottman, *editor*
Emil Michael Aun, *associate editor*
Patricia Marshall, *assistant editor*
Richard Mathews, *art director*

MANPOWER Magazine is the official monthly journal of the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor. It is distributed without charge to personnel of the national and regional Manpower Administration offices and, by special arrangement, to State employment security agencies. It is also available on subscription at $5.50 a year (single copies 50 cents) from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. In countries other than the United States, Canada, and Mexico, annual subscription is $7.00. Use of funds for printing this publication approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget October 20, 1968.

Expressions of opinions in articles by authors do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Department of Labor. Correspondence regarding articles should be addressed to the Editor, MANPOWER Magazine, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20210.

CHANGES OF ADDRESS: Send new address, including ZIP code, to Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Please also include old address label from MANPOWER.

XUM

Criminal Records and Public Jobs

by Patricia Marshall

You see, Joe, if you figure it out, about 50 percent of the jobs and occupations in this country are barred to you by law or practice because of your record. Rule out jobs in local, State, or National government . . . the Armed Forces . . . all jobs requiring a security clearance no matter how low. Add to that all public utilities . . . the professions and jobs dealing with the public where you're required to be licensed by any government authority. Top it off with any job that involves trust and the handling of money, and for the cherry, any job in which you need to be bonded. There you have it, Joe.

AN EYE FOR AN EYE.

From his own experience and that of his fellow inmates, the offender knows full well that the bars of his prison cell may cast heavy shadows across the rest of his life.

Only in recent years has the world at large shown much concern about this long-term effect of arrest, conviction, and sentence. And as awareness has grown of links between poverty and crime and between joblessness and the recidivism of offenders, it has become ever more apparent that society gains little protection by closing its doors to the former offender. By discouraging him from making an honest living, it encourages him to make a dishonest one. The resulting costs to society, as well as to the individuals involved, are enormous.

There is also a large group of people with no criminal record who may be damaged in employment by run-ins with the law. They have been arrested for causes ranging from traffic violations to crimes of violence, but they have never been convicted, sentenced, or imprisoned. And like those who have spent time in correctional institutions, these people may find that listing their arrest records on job applications can frustrate their efforts to get work.

To learn more about the extent of employment barriers for persons with arrest and criminal conviction records, the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration sponsored research on the hiring policies and practices of a major group of employers: State, county, and local governments. The recently completed study[1] was made by the Institute of Criminal Law and Procedure of the Georgetown University Law Center in Washington, D.C.

Because State, county, and local governments are a large and growing source of jobs, their use of criminal and arrest record information may have a significant impact on employment opportunities. In 1970, these jurisdictions employed 9.6 million persons, up from about 6 million a decade earlier. Projections show that they will employ 13.5 million persons by 1980, a growth in jobs larger than that predicted for manufacturing, construction, or any other major branch of private industry.

The Institute study covered all States, counties with more than 100,000 population, and cities with more than 50,000. Researchers reviewed all State statutes governing civil service employment, the protection of juvenile record information, and the expungement of records for both adult criminal convictions and juvenile offenses. The Institute also sought job application forms from government agencies at all levels included in the study, surveyed agency policies toward jobseekers who have criminal and arrest records, and reviewed pertinent local ordinances and regulations. Finally, the Institute did an in-depth study of agency practices in six representative counties and cities.

Most government agencies surveyed ask jobseekers about arrest and criminal records and fail to advise them to exclude from their applications any action taken when they were juveniles. Many use this data to rule out any further consideration of applicants.

Bar Urged on Use of Arrest Records

On the basis of its findings, the Institute has proposed a number of legal changes in the Nation's treatment of persons with arrest and criminal records. At the Federal level, it recommends enactment of legislation to bar all employers, public and private, from asking applicants about arrests which have not resulted in conviction, and to bar law enforcement agencies from divulging these records where the request for information concerns an application for a job, licensing, bonding, or "any civil right or privilege."

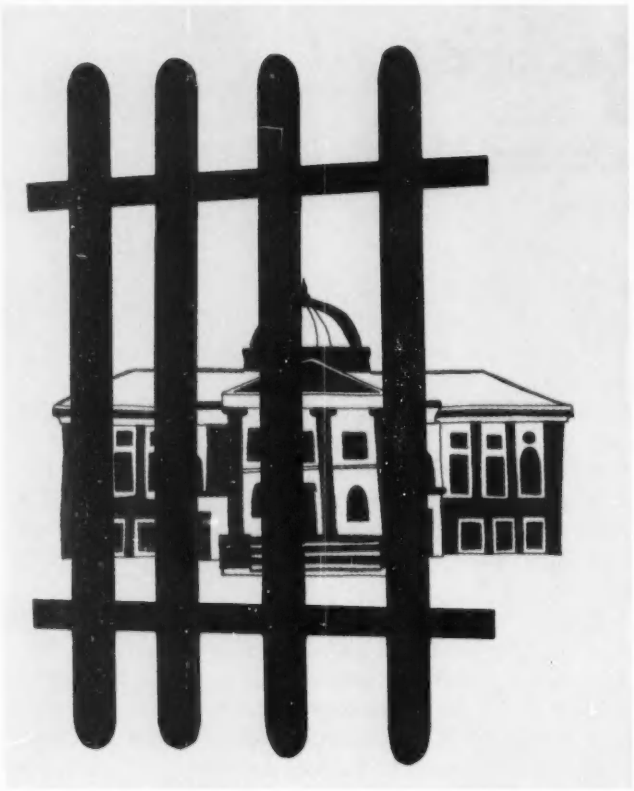
In addition, the Institute has proposed model statutes for enactment by the States to provide authority for sealing and eventually obliterating juvenile records, to set guidelines for civil service commissions in employing persons with arrest and criminal records, and to provide for expungement of criminal conviction records under certain conditions.

To launch its study, the Institute surveyed State civil service statutes and local ordinances and regulations. The survey

---

Mrs. Marshall is assistant editor of MANPOWER.

[1] For information on availability of the full report, *The Effect of a Criminal Record on Employment With State and Local Public Agencies*, write the Division of Research and Development Utilization, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Room 100, Vanguard Building, Washington, D.C. 20210.



showed few clear-cut standards which might govern employment of persons with arrest and criminal records. Most statutes and rules under which jurisdictions operate call for hiring based upon merit, ability, and fitness. However, the regulations usually fail to indicate that these qualities may be possessed by jobseekers with police or criminal records or to offer employing officers any specific guidelines when they consider the applications of these persons.

At the same time, many statutes and rules contain exclusionary provisions which are broadly worded and subject to highly personal interpretation. For example, nearly a third of the jurisdictions studied authorize the exclusion of applicants who are deemed "unfit," and a fifth call for exclusion of persons who have been guilty of "infamous" or "notoriously disgraceful" conduct.

Several States and localities provide in one way or another for exclusion of anyone who has committed a criminal offense. Here again, terminology varies and is sometimes broad. There are statutes excluding applicants who are "not law abiding," and others excluding persons who have been arrested a number of times or convicted of a crime. None suggest that any distinctions should be drawn between minor or major offenses or that any consideration be given to the relationship between an offense and the job for which the applicant is being considered.

Nearly a third of the statutes and rules make an incorrect statement on an application grounds for rejection of an applicant—a proviso that may be particularly worrisome to an individual who, in hopes of building a better future, attempts to conceal a criminal or arrest record in his past.

Only a few statutes or regulations specifically state that adults with arrest or criminal records may be hired despite these records, the Institute study reports. One is a New Jersey law that states conditions under which persons may be hired even though they have been found guilty of a crime, infamous conduct, and the like. An individual must "have achieved a degree of rehabilitation that indicates that his or her employment would not be incompatible with the welfare of society and the aims and objectives" of the employing agency. Applicants for New Jersey civil service jobs also may appeal the actions of authorities who reject their application, refuse to test them, or fail to certify them.

In St. Paul, Minn., regulations are based on a time factor. Persons may not be admitted to an examination for a government job within 5 years of their first conviction for a felony or 10 years after a second conviction. The delay for misdemeanors is 6 months for the first offense, a year for two offenses in any one year, and 3 years for three or more offenses in any 5-year period.

To find out how State, county, and municipal statutes and regulations on employing people with records are interpreted and carried out, the Institute studied the governments' actual hiring practices. Researchers obtained some of their information through two detailed questionnaires, one sent to police and corrections groups and the other to a wide range of agencies, including State civil service commissions. They also asked the government units for their job application forms.

The Institute's analysis of job applications turned up the fact that Nebraska is the only State which does not ask applicants about an arrest or criminal record. More than half of the States ask if the individual has been "arrested," "charged," or "cited," and few tell him to exclude juvenile offenses. Nineteen States query the applicant about "convictions," "sentences," and "imprisonment." In almost all of these searches, the full history is wanted—few governments tell jobseekers to omit offenses charged to them many years ago.

Most Counties Seek Arrest Information

More than half of the counties want data on arrests; only a quarter limit their queries to convictions. Less than 20 percent seek no arrest or criminal record information. Most of the cities —more than 75 percent—also seek arrest information, while 18 percent confine questions to a search for conviction records. Like the States, counties and cities seldom tell applicants to omit juvenile offenses and a few specifically ask for these—practices which result in some agencies gleaning from the applicants themselves information which State statutes supposedly bar them from getting from official sources.

Although several jurisdictions state that each case will be considered on its merits, most do not assure applicants that giving details of a prior record on application forms will not automatically disqualify them from further consideration. Moreover, when public employers seek arrest and criminal records they generally state that the data will be checked with police and other sources.

From the questionnaires, researchers learned that nearly a third of the agencies will not hire anyone with conviction or arrest records. More than half place partial restrictions on such hiring, and only 15 percent place none.

XUM

Nearly 14 percent of the corrections agencies (primarily departments of corrections and boards of probation and parole) indicated that a criminal record is an absolute bar to employment. Nearly 30 percent of all police agencies rule out jobseekers with a juvenile record.

Researchers were able to draw a picture of government practices across the Nation which indicates strongly that legal determinations of guilt matter little to many public employers. Many of the police departments surveyed look on a record of any kind—including arrests without conviction—as an absolute bar to employment. Ten percent of police agencies will not hire persons arrested for a misdemeanor even if they were not charged or convicted.

Fundamental Legal Principle Abused

Institute researchers point out that, in effect, these public agencies are abusing a fundamental American legal principle: The accused is presumed innocent until proved guilty.

Public agencies that do hire persons with arrest or criminal records find them to be about as honest, punctual, cooperative, accurate, industrious, and otherwise endowed with work-oriented qualities as other employees. For example, all police and most of the corrections agencies responding to this part of the survey found that employees with records are as honest as other workers; this was also true of 98 percent of the other city, county, and State agencies.

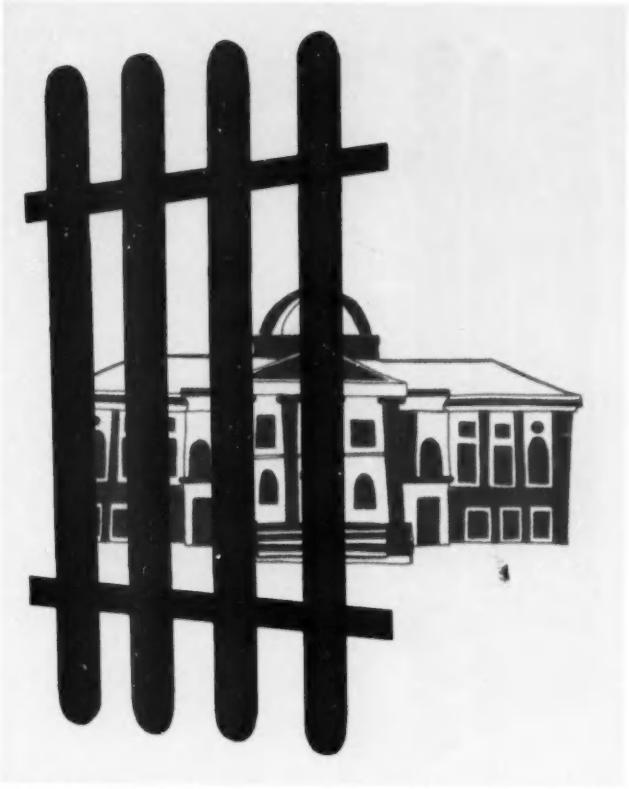
In addition to checking on hiring regulations and practices, the Institute scanned the legal framework States have set up to govern treatment of juvenile adjudications. All States have special courts and procedures for juveniles, the Institute notes, and in general their laws provide that the court findings are not to be considered as criminal convictions. In theory, at least, events in juvenile courts should not produce the kinds of disabilities that commonly arise from adult convictions. Moreover, many State statutes provide that juvenile adjudications do not disqualify persons for civil service employment.

States also attempt in a number of ways to limit the use of juvenile records, the Institute study shows. The records are generally inadmissible in other courts and quite a few are surrounded by legal restrictions intended to narrow access to them. In some States, publication of the records is prohibited; in others, only specified persons such as parents or public welfare workers may look at them.

But these statutes differ widely from State to State. Five States and the District of Columbia have laws specifying that juvenile records are to be withheld from "indiscriminate" public inspection but for the most part do not appear to offer a workable definition of the term. Some of these States require a court order for access to the records while others fail to specify this step.

An Illinois statute spells out permission for news media and representatives of government agencies to inspect juvenile records if they get a court order. Illinois also expressly allows examination of the records by its civil service commission.

Still other States have no laws limiting access to juvenile actions. And in Iowa and New Mexico, statutes specify that juvenile records are open to the public, while Mississippi law provides that publication of a juvenile's name is mandatory after a second adjudication.



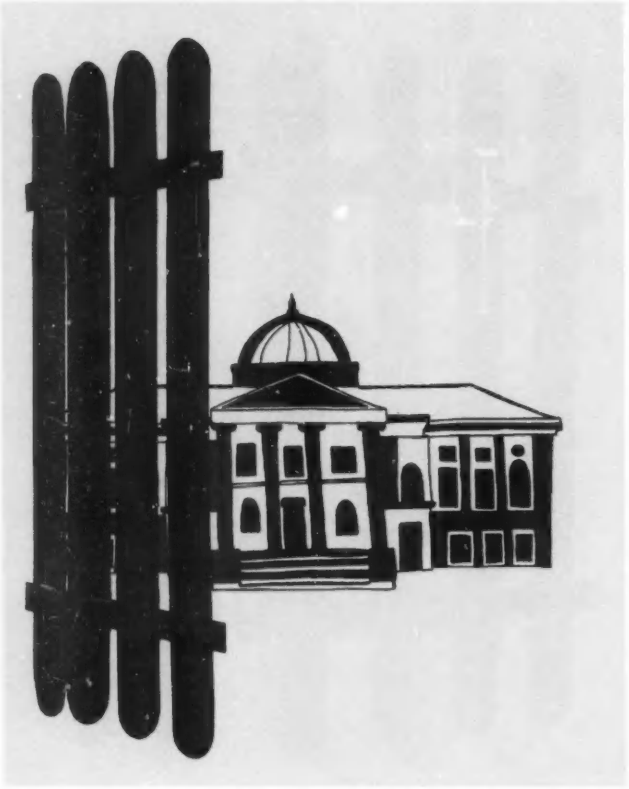
Because arrest, criminal, or juvenile offense records can create a major bar to employment, the Institute also studied State laws which allow the records of youth and adults to be wiped clean.

"At some point in time," the Institute study says, "there must be an end to the potential impact of a juvenile record on a person's life." In exploring the ways set up to achieve this, the researchers found that the legal framework for expungement of juvenile records is far more common and less cumbersome than that set up for adults. Nineteen States provide some means to destroy or seal juvenile records in whole or in part. Even so, the procedures are seldom automatic—generally, action is discretionary with the court, and in a number of States must be set in motion by petition from the juvenile.

A few statutes "purport to extend to police (arrest) records" as well as to court records, Institute researchers say, but "most make no mention of them." This seems to present the possibility that arrest records might remain accessible to employers and others even after court findings are sealed or destroyed.

The explicit coverage of juvenile arrest records is a somewhat rare and commendable feature of Indiana's expungement statute, the Institute study finds. When 2 years have elapsed after a delinquency judgment, the court may order the sheriff and chief of police to produce their office files and records on the case at a hearing. If the court determines that the youth has reformed it declares him no longer a delinquent "and shall order the clerk of the court to destroy or obliterate the entire file and record of the case."

Although California has the most comprehensive expunge-



ment provisions of any State, researchers say, the procedures required are cumbersome and limited in scope and effect. The State's penal code permits the court to order that both the record of conviction and other official records in a case be sealed. When this is done, the "conviction, arrest, or other proceeding shall be deemed not to have occurred, and the petitioner may answer accordingly any question relating to their occurrence." But the statute applies only to misdemeanants under 21 years old and does not apply to narcotics and various sex offenses or to traffic violations.

Another section of the California code allows adult ex-offenders to withdraw guilty pleas or to have guilty verdicts set aside—but it applies only to persons completing probation. An added problem, the Institute says, is that the California statutes "have been narrowly construed by judges balancing the rehabilitative effects of expungement against the need to protect the public from those with expunged convictions. When the debate is framed in these terms the need for public protection always seems paramount."

A Minnesota statute might be an effective tool for ex-offenders if it were implemented and expanded, the researchers say. The law covers all first offenders, does not exclude any crimes, aims at the restoration of "all civil rights," and sanctions non-disclosure of a conviction on job applications. But the law does not cover arrest records, hence persons never convicted of any crime have less protection than first offenders. The law requires action by the State Board of Pardons, an administrative mechanism which may be less effective than judicial proceedings in the Institute's view.

In 37 States, some form of legislative or executive pardon is available, the Institute reports, but it finds that pardons have limited value. "In some States only the franchise is restored," the study says, "and in others, where all formal civil rights are restored, a pardon has little, if any, effect upon the social stigma attaching to an ex-offender." For these reasons, attention in recent years has focused on expungement to help ex-offenders make a successful re-entry into society, the Institute says.

The chief central source of arrest and criminal record data used by State and local government departments and subdivisions is the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Institute reports. Slightly more than half of the public agencies responding to the Institute questionnaires said they automatically refer all job applicant names to the local police or to the FBI. Almost as many get an FBI check of fingerprints.

Legal Findings Lacking on Arrest Records

One effect of such actions, Institute researchers claim, is that public employers are likely to obtain records of arrests without accompanying information on legal findings in each case. "FBI arrest files show a very small proportion of dispositions, apparently because police departments submitting fingerprint records are under no compulsion" to follow up their arrest reports with such information, the Institute study says. The Institute also notes that FBI arrest records constitute a mixed bag of events. There is little uniformity among the States in record-keeping practices, how various offenses are processed, or terminology used to identify a given offense, the researchers say.

Once in an employer's hand, arrest information may be extremely damaging to the jobseeker. One arrest for alleged mail fraud, for example, may result in multiple charges taking up many pages of an arrest record. Seeing this extensive document, an employer may be sufficiently alarmed to end all further consideration of an applicant.

Moreover, most employers may have difficulty appraising the departmental "shorthand" used on records, the legal meaning of charges and dispositions, or events leading up to them. The Institute study notes, for example, that for many years blacks have been subject to "a disproportionate number of arrests" which were often of an investigative nature and not because the arrested individual was suspected of committing a specific crime. "These arrests were solely to assist the police in their investigation and most blacks so arrested were subsequently released," the Institute says. "Nevertheless, the arrest record is there on the books—permanent, immutable, and influential in hindering their full job potential."

Righting the wrongs created by arrest and criminal records in employment might be attempted in a number of ways. The Institute study examines several methods and their weaknesses and strengths, then makes recommendations for State and Federal action.

Employers' use of arrest records in making hiring decisions might be stopped if all 50 States adopted model statutes making such use of these records illegal. However, the Institute researchers believe that such laws would be ineffective as long as police departments continue to supply the FBI with their records and the FBI continues to make them readily available across the Nation.

Another tack might be to clean up the FBI records to assure

XUM

that they are both accurate and complete. But this appears to be an unrealistic approach. The President's Crime Commission reported that some 1,000 FBI fingerprint clerks process daily about 23,000 fingerprint records submitted by agencies across the Nation. "It staggers the imagination to conceive of the job of checking every record," the Institute study says. "It might require a separate inquiry for each arrest back to the local police department and, in many cases, to the court which may have heard the case. Utter chaos would be the result."

Another possible route—recourse to the courts—would be long and tedious and there is no assurance that the court interpretations would be broad enough to cover all persons whose employment prospects might be damaged by arrest records, the Institute says. Because the alternatives have serious weaknesses of this kind, the Institute recommends Federal legislation to prohibit the use of arrest records for employment purposes.

Authors of the research report believe that of several valid legal approaches, one of the more feasible legal bases for Federal jurisdiction is the Civil Rights Act of 1964, particularly the Act's section which makes it unlawful for an employer "to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual . . . because of such individual's race."

They cite findings of the U.S. District Court in California in Gregory versus Litton Systems, Inc., in July 1970, in which the Court held that the Civil Rights Act forbids "the employer's policy of excluding from employment persons who have suffered a number of arrests without any convictions (and) had the foreseeable effect of denying black applicants an equal opportunity." The Court cited statistics showing far higher percentages of arrests among blacks than among whites, and noted that the employer failed to "show a business necessity and that the practice or policy is essential to safe and efficient operation of the business."

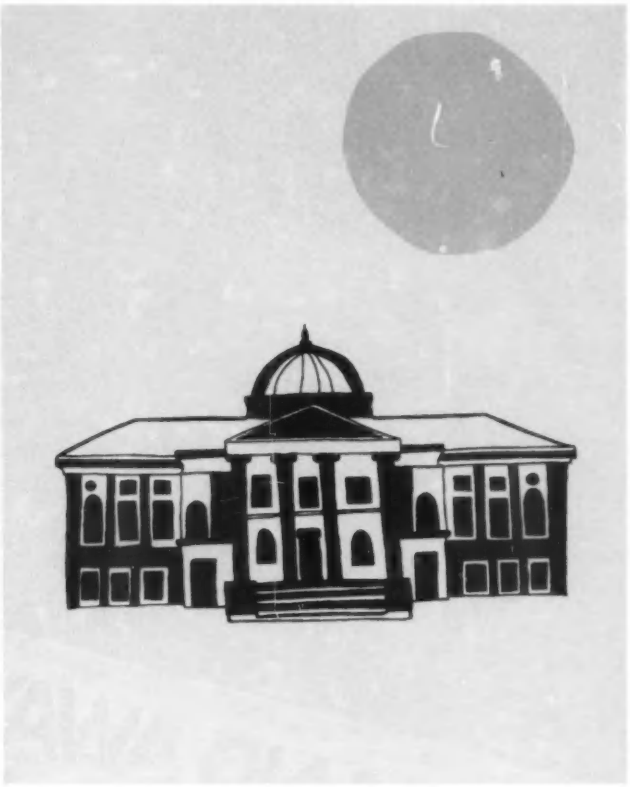
If Litton Systems cannot use information on arrests not followed by convictions in hiring its workers, the effect is to render all employers unable to use it, the researchers contend. "Certainly an employer cannot have separate job application forms for blacks and whites," the Institute study says. "Therefore the only way to avoid the discriminatory effect of asking about arrest records is to eliminate the question across the board."

Institute Drafts Three Model Statutes

Three model statutes drafted by the Institute for proposed enactment by the States cover the sealing of juvenile records and their ultimate destruction; the destruction of criminal conviction records; and civil service procedures for persons who have had criminal convictions.

The Institute recommends that all records of juvenile proceedings be sealed, and that they be released only to other courts and to law enforcement and other government agencies which are involved in an adjudication against a juvenile. Even then, information may not be given out in response to requests which are "related to an application for employment, license, bonding, or other civil right or privilege."

No later than 5 years after juvenile proceedings, and when there has been no other adjudication or criminal conviction,



all records of the juvenile cases will be obliterated by order of the court.

A second model statute provides that persons with criminal convictions may petition the court to expunge their conviction record after their probation or parole ends and 2 years after release from prison. The court must grant an expungement order unless it finds this contrary to public interest. Denials would be appealable. Upon granting a motion to expunge a conviction, the court will order its records sealed and all agencies with records on the case would be forbidden to divulge them except for certain legal and law enforcement purposes.

In a model State statute to govern civil service procedures toward jobseekers with criminal records, the Institute proposes a broad expression of legislative intent stating that no crime is an automatic bar to government employment. Consideration is to be given to the nature of the crime, its relationship to the job a person applies for, the degree of his rehabilitation, and the time elapsed since his conviction.

The American Bar Association (ABA) is using the findings of the Institute study and other research to help bring about legal and administrative reforms. Under a $185,440 contract with the Manpower Administration, the ABA has set up a national information clearinghouse on employment restrictions for ex-offenders. By disseminating data to State and local bar associations, labor and employer groups, and others who are concerned with criminal rehabilitation, the ABA hopes to provide the information that will enable these groups to work in their localities so that persons with a criminal record—and those with merely records of arrests—will not stand forever convicted in the eyes of employers. □

UP, UP, AND AWAY

Racial Barriers Falling But Airlines Choose

To some, her life is filled with fun, glamour, and adventure, meeting people as bright and vital as herself while she flies to exciting and often exotic places.

To others, she is little more than a glorified waitress struggling to serve cocktails and dinner to 25 passengers in an hour and 10 minutes.

Though exaggerated, these are the two faces of the contemporary airline stewardess. And until recently both faces were strictly white.

But no more. Young women like Joy Nunley, 23, are stepping out with increasing frequency to take those good-paying jobs in the air formerly reserved for whites only.

Four years ago, Miss Nunley was a second-year college student in Los Angeles preparing for a teaching career. "But I wanted to travel and like working with people." Today she is an $800-a-month American Airlines stewardess, jetting to faraway places, meeting Senators and movie stars such as Bob Hope ("he accidentally jabbed me with his pencil and let me read his jokes") and Robert Young ("a very nice person").

Fifteen years ago, Miss Nunley's story would have been impossible. Airlines simply did not hire black stewardesses. Even today it would be no cinch. Racial barriers are down, but though many are called, few are chosen, regardless of color. Trans World Airlines (TWA), for example, usually hires about 6 percent of those who apply, and even in a pinch will only go as high as 10 percent.

The physical standards are clear enough. American Airlines' requirements are typical. The applicant obviously needs good health. "And she should have nice teeth and smile, a clear complexion, and a figure in good proportion," said Mildred Alford, director of American's stewardess college and recruitment. "We take them 5-foot-2 to 5-10, and from 105 to 145 pounds, but obviously we wouldn't want someone 5-2 who weighed 145. A high school education is the minimum and some college is preferred. Either that or she should have 2 years of business experience, preferably dealing with the public. Seventy-five percent of our girls are college graduates. We want them to have a normal vision of 20/50 and they can wear contacts but not glasses."

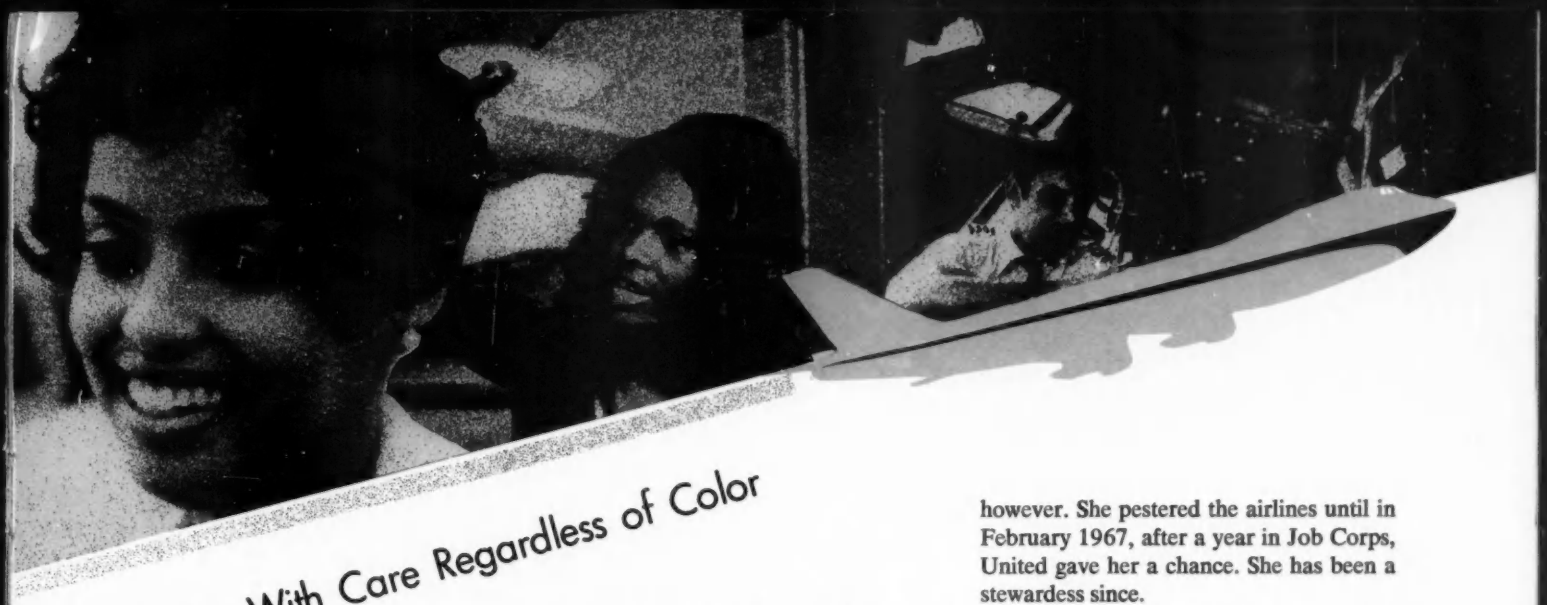
American sets a minimum age of 20, which, with the college or business experience requirement, rules out recruiting women fresh from high school. But there is no upper age limit. All major airlines used to ground women at 32 or when they married. Both limitations have been removed by the airlines, sometimes willingly, sometimes under legal pressure.

New Rules Cut Turnover

Economically, the new rules make sense. They have reduced turnover, and thus training expenses, which United Airlines now estimates at $1,000 per stewardess. The average stewardess used to last only 14 months, according to AVIATION WEEK, a trade journal. Now, says the magazine, they stick around for an average of 2½ years in some carriers, and the length of time "is climbing steadily industrywide."

Some stay much longer. The world's oldest active stewardess will celebrate her 60th birthday next May. She is Ida Stag-

XUM



Stewardesses With Care Regardless of Color

gers of TWA who made her first flight in 1936 aboard a DC-2 from Kansas City to Chicago with 14 passengers. "In those days we could tell our people to lean out the window and see the pretty flowers," she said. "You had time to chat with the passengers and get to know them."

Other than physical requirements, hiring standards are hard to define. The airlines rely on the judgment and experience of their recruiters.

"It depends on how the girl comes across," said W. L. Helmantoler, Washington public relations director for American Airlines. "Our recruiters look for self-confidence, a person who is outgoing, cool in an emergency, with solid character, able to project and relate to people."

"It's hard to lay out standards," said Edward G. Tharp, TWA's director of staff industrial relations. "Everyone's an expert on an ideal hostess. (TWA refuses to call them stewardesses.) She's a girl who has the right disposition, is happy to be there, and can make people feel that. She knows her job and is willing to give a little more effort."

Among the rejects would be applicants displaying a "certain attitude that they might not make good representatives for the airlines," Tharp said. More specifically, they "could be hostile, or too shy and introvertish, and wouldn't want to be helpful to the passengers or serve them."

The whole area is a bit vague because the airlines have dropped more precise measuring tools. United, for example, used to give applicants intelligence and psychological as well as physical tests. Only the physical survives. "We did some validation work that indicated we did not have to do testing," said Richard E. Coffelt, assistant to United's vice president for personnel services. "We dropped tests because they were of no benefit," said TWA's Tharp.

Still, the remaining requirements are stiff enough to rule out most women falling into the hard-core disadvantaged category. At least one major airline, which prefers to remain anonymous, tried recruiting disadvantaged young women 2 or 3 years ago. "It was a low-key approach so people wouldn't think we were showcasing," said an executive. "We took disadvantaged girls in several cases who normally couldn't make it. They received 2 weeks of training before going to our stewardess college. Most of them worked out okay but we had some backfires." Since about 90 percent of the regular applicants chosen for stewardess school make the grade, "some backfires" apparently were too many.

Persistence Pays Off

That disadvantaged women can make good stewardesses has been amply demonstrated by Betty Patterson Gable. After a series of low-paying jobs in Macon, Ga., where she graduated from high school, and Newark, Mrs. Gable (then Betty Patterson) joined the Job Corps and trained at the Los Angeles center.

She wanted to be a helicopter pilot but the center could not afford to spend the $9,000 required for 500 hours of flying. Meanwhile, she was trained as a secretary. The lure of the air was too much, however. She pestered the airlines until in February 1967, after a year in Job Corps, United gave her a chance. She has been a stewardess since.

Last year, the Children's Press in Chicago published her book, I REACHED FOR THE SKY, a supplementary reader for third graders. This autobiographical work is designed to inspire other disadvantaged youngsters to do what Mrs. Gable did.

Last May she was married to Lars Gable, a student at the University of Copenhagen. He hopes to be a film critic and "we plan to live in Copenhagen, though he may change his mind," she said. Their long-distance courtship—it lasted 3 years—and marriage has presented some problems, but the airlines have helped solve these. All carriers give their employees a good deal of free travel, and extend this courtesy to each other's employees, either free or on a very low-cost basis. So while she's stationed in Chicago, she gets to Copenhagen every 2 months or so.

"If we do live in Denmark, I plan to go to school there," she said. "I still want to be a helicopter pilot."

Standards for stewardesses have been shifting ever since the first one was hired in 1930 by Boeing Airlines, later to become United. Until then, the copilot usually handled the food service. "The pilots were stunned and furious" when stewardesses were hired, according to official literature by a rival airline, Delta. "Adding a woman to the crew, they argued, was about as sensible as removing one of the wings." But the customers, mostly men, loved it and what started out as a 3-month trial became during the next decade standard practice for all the carriers.

The first stewardesses were nurses. Air sickness was common in those days. But during World War II, these women were

swept into military service. The airlines began setting up their own schools to prepare young women without medical training to look after the passengers.

The first black stewardess employed in the industry was brought aboard in 1957 by Mohawk Airlines, a northeast regional carrier, according to *The Negro in the Air Transport Industry,* a study by the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce. She was Ruth Carol Taylor, 25, a New York City nurse. Despite this breakthrough, progress was so slow that the study says it could find evidence of only three black stewardesses in the air by 1960.

Federal action speeded things up. A Presidential Executive order of March 6, 1961, "introduced the concept of affirmative action into the field of equal employment opportunity," according to the study. Six of the larger airlines came up with "Plans for Progress," which involved a commitment to hire minorities which was registered and signed between the companies and the Government. The final capper was the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which forbade racial discrimination in hiring.

Passenger Acceptance Good

Figures compiled by the Federal Aviation Agency's Office of Civil Rights show that by March 1971, of 34,807 stewardesses employed by the 34 largest airlines representing well over 90 percent of the industry, 2,185, or 6.3 percent, were minority representatives. Among these were 985 blacks, 728 Spanish-surnamed, 446 Orientals, and 26 Indians.

"Airline management feared that the traveling public would not accept black stewardesses, a fear which has proved totally unwarranted," according to the study. "Their acceptance has been extremely good, with few or no racially directed complaints from passengers. The experience of the airlines has been that these young ladies do as good a job as the average white girl hired from the normal sources."

But while black stewardesses have had little trouble with passengers, they have received some flack from management. Two years ago, an executive at one of the largest carriers—a leader in hiring minorities—tried to compel a black stewardess to trim her Afro hairdo by a single inch. When she refused, management, unable to back down gracefully, fired her. "Privately other airline officials conceded that the whole affair was a regrettable snafu—a 'Catch-22' product of one level of management blindly supporting another," said a news magazine. It was a costly error. The airline lost face, money, and a good employee. The young woman settled for $5,000 in lost wages following a hearing before the Illinois Fair Employment Practices Commission and rejected the company's offer to reinstate her.

"It was the old Hollywood syndrome," said a black executive of one of the major airlines. "They want Lena Horne types. But there just aren't that many black folks that look like white folks."

Now that the airlines are permitting black stewardesses to look black, and recognizing that minority groups have their distinctive characteristics, he added, recruiting is picking up. "I'm not suggesting that we have arrived at the point where we have full equal employment opportunities, but some progress has been made," he said.

Top management is not so much at fault as other employees, he believes. "Many girls are subject to the rankest form of discrimination. For instance, the domestic airlines have a policy of stewardesses sharing rooms when away from home. One white girl made a hell of a scene about sharing with a black girl. The white girls get it too in reverse. One was accused of being a 'nigger-lover' by a fellow stewardess because she talked to a black passenger in first class."

He admitted that failure to recruit more blacks was not always the fault of the carriers. His own airline has tried to recruit them at colleges and found that black students often just were not interested. "Some don't like to travel, and others figure that with their educations, they can do better elsewhere. The job simply doesn't have the glamour it had 15 years ago."

A personnel executive for one of the major carriers agreed that glamour has been one of the casualties of contemporary air life. "The girls have less time to mix," he said. "In the old DC-3 days, there were only 21 to 24 passengers aboard and it wasn't uncommon for the stewardesses to move from row to row and talk with all the passengers. The new

a

d

e

a) *A sixth anniversary celebration brought United stewardess Betty Patterson Gable (left) back to the Los Angeles Job Corps Center, where she renewed acquaintances with former Job Corps mates Teresa Fernandez (second from left), Barbara Reams, and Debbie Jackson (right).*

b) *"I wanted to travel and like working with people," says Joy Nunley, who gave up a prospective teaching career to become an American Airlines stewardess.*

c) *A young passenger examines the wings of Eastern stewardess Gloria Johnson. Mrs. Johnson used her stewardess job as a steppingstone. A college graduate with a degree in economics, she is now an instructor at Eastern's Flight Attendant Training School in Miami.*

d) *Under the guidance of an instructor (right), Delta trainees practice in-flight meal service in an aircraft mock-up equipped with 21 tourist and 8 first- class seats, a galley, and a public address system. A stewardess' duties also include chatting with first-riders to calm their anxieties, checking cabin equipment, adjusting lighting and ventilation, and making out flight reports.*

e) *Michele Freeman, an American Airlines flight procedures analyst whose duties include writing training manuals, discusses new emergency equipment aboard an airliner with three stewardesses. A former stewardess herself, Miss Freeman taught for a while at American's stewardess college at Fort Worth.*

f) *Regular physical exercise is an important part of the curriculum at Delta's training school and at the schools of all the airlines. Aspiring stewardesses also study grooming, flight safety, aircraft nomenclature, Government regulations, voice improvement, and diction.*

747 carries more than 300 passengers and coast-to-coast travel time has been cut in half the past 15 years.

"When our girls quit, one of their chief complaints is they no longer have a chance to mix. The time element forces them to get their chores done, like serving meals and cocktails. There are a lot more passengers and a lot more to do. In the old days, there was no cocktail hour."

Pay scales are a mixed bag, according to the Air Line Pilots Association International (ALPA), which represents many stewardesses at the bargaining table. United, which is about average, starts its stewardesses at a base pay of $455 a month for 70 hours of flight time and these beginners can work a maximum of 85 hours for $620. By the fifth year these figures are up to $570 and $735. Besides this the airline generally pays for the stewardess' hotel room away from home, gives her a meal allowance, buys all her uniforms after she pays for the first one herself, and often picks up her cleaning bills. She also receives a lot of free or low-cost travel on a space-available basis for herself and members of her immediate family.

The average stewardess at United earned $7,595 in 1970, according to figures compiled by ALPA. The pay per hour, however, is not as high as it sounds. "A girl with 71 hours a month will actually have 20 or 25 hours more on-ground duty," said Kelly Rueck, vice president of ALPA's steward and stewardess division.

The airlines follow similar patterns in recruiting stewardesses. TWA does most of its hiring at its five major metropolitan locations—Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Miami, and Kansas City. On occasion, it will "blitz" other large cities, sending in three or four recruiters over a weekend. Ads in the local papers bring out the candidates. To reach minorities TWA places ads in Spanish-American and black newspapers and magazines.

Airlines Have Own Schools

Each major airline has its own stewardess training school or "college." Delta's is at Atlanta where trainees receive 4 weeks of instruction, and are paid $8 subsistence for every day including Sunday. The trainees share dormitory rooms and have every modern facility including TV, hair dryers, and a swimming pool, and such old-fashioned appurtenances as a house mother. Curfew is 10 p.m. and the weekends are taken up with observation flights.

Most stewardesses' careers end with the wedding vows (though United says that 30 percent of its 570 stewardesses assigned to Washington, D.C. are married). And apparently they make much better wives than average.

"They're bound to because of their outgoing qualities and their training in helping people," said Helmantoler at American. But he is a prejudiced witness. He recently married a stewardess.

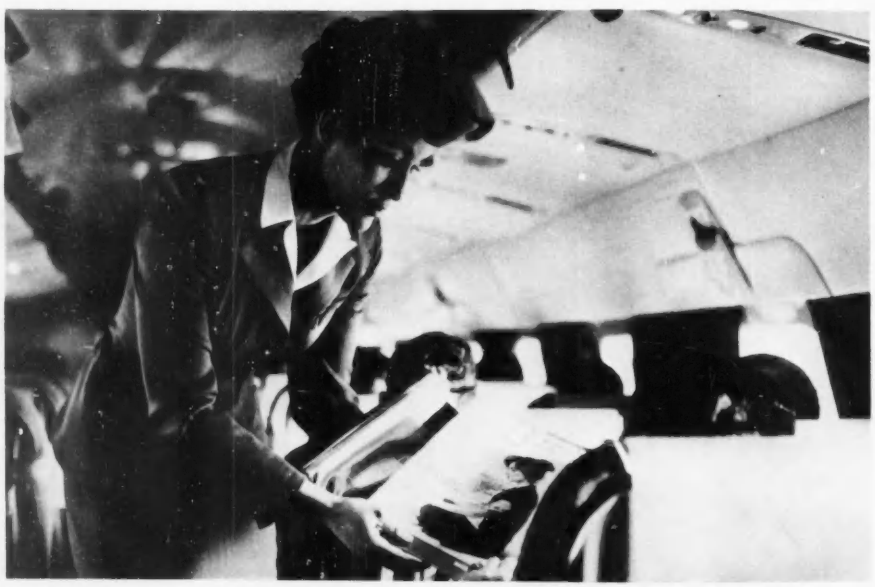
More objective evidence was compiled last year by a study of the members of Kiwi, an organization of former American Airlines stewardesses. Nearly 600 of the group's 1,900 members answered a questionnaire, including women who had been retired from a month to 30 years, most of them having flown before 1960. Only 1 out of 24 of their marriages had ended in divorce compared with 1 in 4 for the Nation as a whole.

Over the years a lot of stewardesses have moved up the job ladder once they got tired of flying but wanted to continue working. American's Mildred Alford started as a stewardess. Now black stewardesses are beginning to travel the same road. Michele Freeman was a student nurse and part-time secretary in Las Vegas when she joined American in October 1967, just before her 21st birthday. She spent 19 months in the sky.

For 6 months of that period she was also a part of Grace and Glamour, a special project of American, now temporarily suspended, that sent black and white stewardesses into the inner cities to conduct courses for disadvantaged girls on makeup, grooming, charm, poise, attitudes, and job preparation. She next was named an instructor at American's stewardess college at Fort Worth. After 6 months she was promoted to the company's home office in New York as an analyst for flight procedures, a job she still holds at a current salary of nearly $1,000 a month, more than twice her earnings as a beginning stewardess.

Is she sorry she left the skies? "Not at all. Now I know where everything comes from. I used to just follow the manuals. Then I taught from the manuals. Once I got to the home office, I had to research and develop projects so now I write the manuals. Now I know what we go through when we launch a new plane and set up emergency and cabin procedures. You become a part of American. It's like a family."

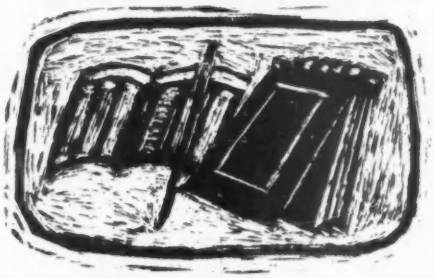
Marriage? She laughed. "I had it all mapped out. First I would be a secretary, second a nurse, then a stewardess, and then marriage. The last hasn't worked out yet." □



A lot has changed, including the uniforms, since Ruth Carol Taylor was hired by Mohawk Airlines in 1957 as the first black stewardess in the United States. She is now retired.

XUM

News & Notes



What are industry's most important future manpower development strategies and programs? How can industry best go about developing human resources? These and other issues will be discussed at the White House Conference on the Industrial World Ahead: A Look at Business in 1990, to be held in Washington Feb. 7-9. The Conference is being co-chaired by Secretary of Labor J. D. Hodgson and Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans. Robert W. Miller, a Commerce Department official, is executive director. Two of the major themes are the Human Side of Enterprise and the Social Responsibility of Business. President Nixon is scheduled to address the 1,500-2,000 leaders expected to attend from industry, labor, the professions, education, and Government.

* * *

Employers who do business with the Federal Government are now being required to list all their suitable job openings with the public employment service. Effective last September 24, a listing clause is being inserted in every contract developed by an executive department or other agency of the Federal Government. About 6 million job orders are expected to be added to State employment service listings as a result of the new requirement. Last year the State agencies listed approximately 6 million jobs, thus the new requirement could double the number of listings. The requirement, part of the Jobs for Veterans Campaign, also applies to Federal executive departments and agencies. While the regulation does not require firms and agencies to hire any job applicant referred by the employment service, it does require them to "observe the normal obligations" involved in placing a bona fide job offer.

* * *

John L. Blake, deputy manpower administrator since July 1969, has been named director of the Job Corps.

* * *

Spanish versions of leaflets for career guidance are out and in use for more than 35 different occupations. They are published by the Manpower Administration. Called mini-guides, they are available in most State employment service offices.

* * *

Detroit is using new tests to recruit policemen, placing more emphasis on ability to operate under stress and less on "culturally biased" tests. A major aim is to get more blacks on the force.

The National Council on the Aging has found jobs for more than 1,400 senior citizens since February 1968 under Manpower Administration contracts. It now has a 1-year $1.6 million contract to do more of the same. Under the new contract the Council will find jobs as senior aides in public service for 572 low-income unemployed or retired men and women 55 or older. They are being employed in a variety of community agencies as nutrition, teacher, and library aides, and clerical and administrative workers. Pay averages about $1.90 an hour for a 20-hour week. The 11 project areas, all with high unemployment, are Augusta, Maine; Bronx, N.Y.; Burlington, Vt.; Hoboken and Trenton, N.J.; Huntington, W. Va.; Los Angeles and San Francisco, Calif.; Paintsville, Ky.; Portland, Ore.; and San Antonio, Tex.

* * *

The president of a Fort Lauderdale, Fla., answering service has become the first employer in 20 years to receive a jail sentence resulting from violation of the Fair Labor Standards Act. The employer, who disregarded a U.S. district court order to pay back wages to 27 employees resulting from violation of minimum wage and overtime provisions, was sentenced to 6 months imprisonment in the Federal penal institution at Tallahassee. Legal action resulted from an investigation by the U.S. Department of Labor's Wage and Hour Division.

* * *

The Xerox Corporation will permit some 20 of its employees to take a year away from their regular jobs at full salary to do social service work of their own choosing. The estimated $500,000 program would permit them to work in such areas as drug addiction, civil rights, or penal reform. Partisan politics is out.

* * *

Can a woman successfully juggle a career and a family? By and large, Radcliffe graduates who become physicians can, according to Dr. Phoebe Williams, reporting on a study of 203 of them over a 60-year period. But they paid a price. Most of them reported "critical" times because of marriage-career conflicts. To resolve them, two-thirds cut their work time to 45 hours a week or less. Some 27 percent gave up medicine temporarily and another 9 percent turned their children over to housekeepers. Nine percent were divorced.

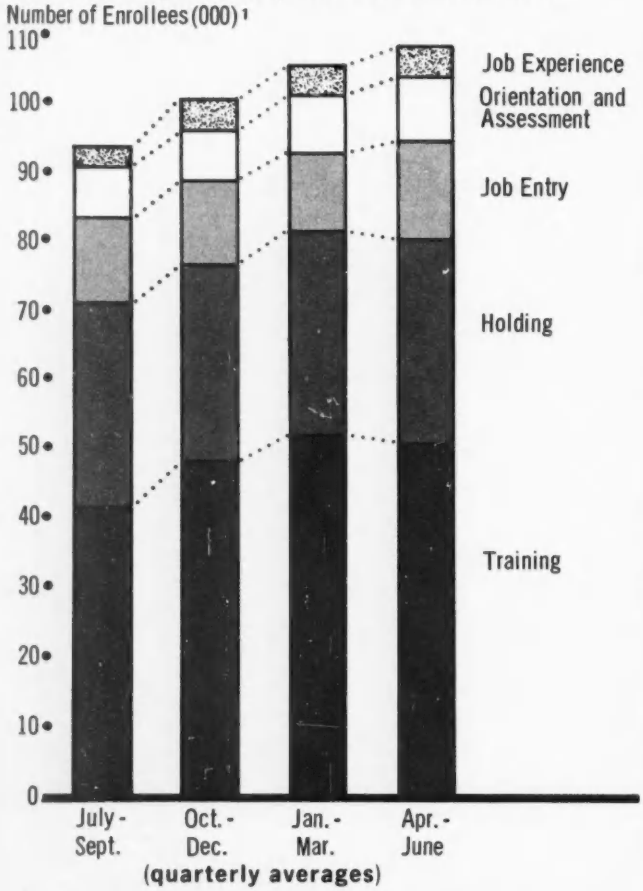
Words & Figures

Enrollment in WIN Components

Enrollment in the Work Incentive Program (WIN)—excluding persons transferred to other programs for training—rose from 90,000 at the beginning of fiscal year 1971 to 109,000 at year's end. This growth in on-board strength was steady throughout the year, each month's figure rising above that of the preceding month. Along with the increase in overall program size, some significant shifts occurred in the distribution of enrollment among program components.

Training activities, in some ways the core of the program because of their importance in providing occupational skills, rose 27 percent between the first and third quarters of the fiscal year. Average enrollment in the July-September period was 41,200, compared with 52,200 in the January-March quarter. Training enrollment tapered off slightly to 50,300 in the last quarter.

Enrollment Level in Work Incentive Program, By Program Component, Fiscal Year 1971



[1]Does not include enrollees in planned suspense.

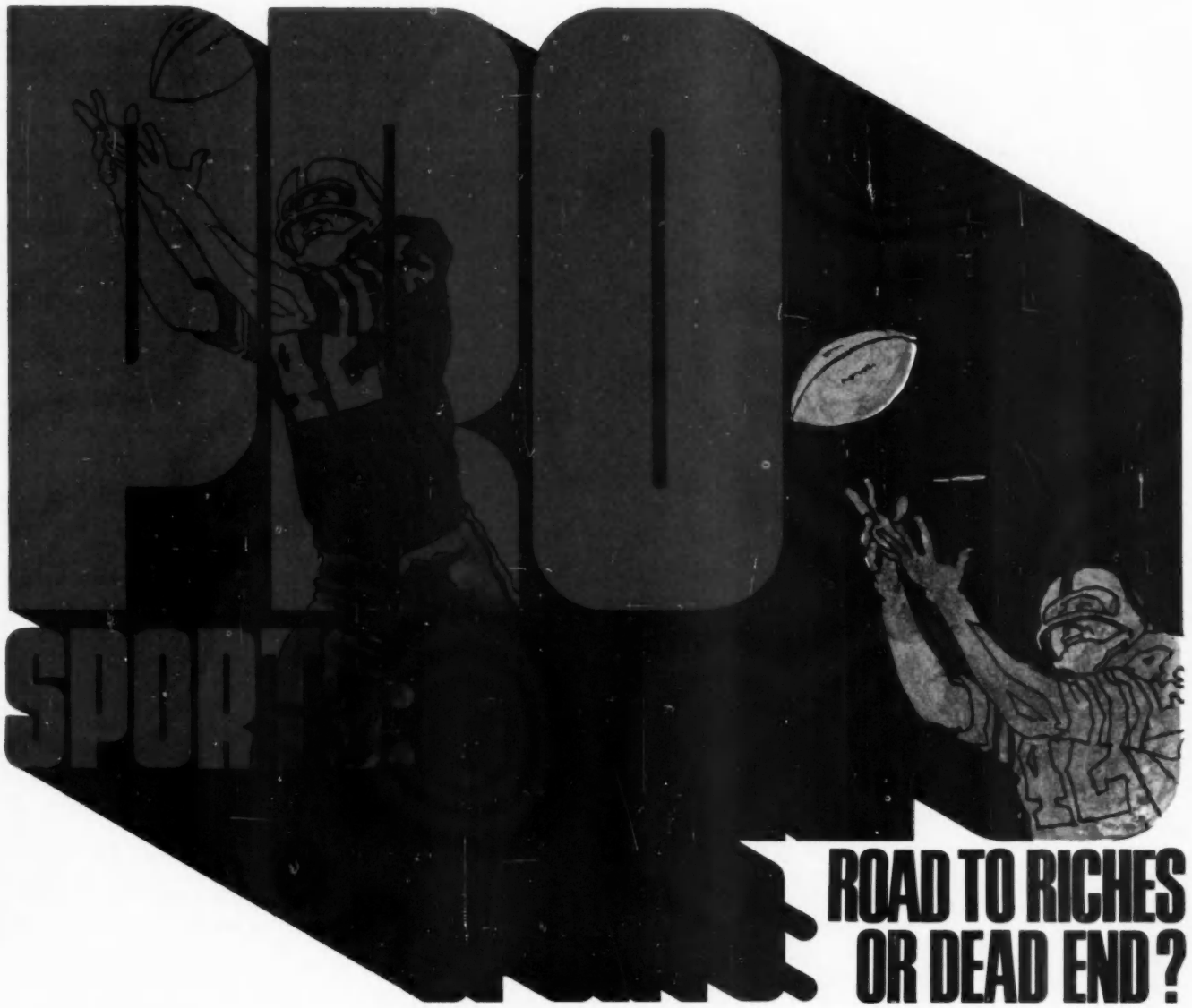
More significant as an indicator of improved program efficiency was the decline in the number of persons in the holding status category. Holding includes those enrollees who are waiting to begin active participation in the program, those waiting to continue in other components, as well as those whose personal and financial problems interrupt continuous program participation, and those waiting to be placed in jobs. There was a decline in both the proportion and the actual number of participants in holding. The high point was in the July-September quarter when 29,800 enrollees—more than 31 percent of all program participants—were in holding. The following quarter 28,200 enrollees, 28 percent, were in holding. While the number of enrollees in holding increased slightly in the next two quarters, the proportional decline continued. In the final quarter of the year, 27 percent of the enrollees were in holding.

The data on job entry reflect the continuing difficulty WIN enrollees have experienced in moving into work status. Job entry includes those persons who have jobs but have not yet been terminated because they are receiving 90 to 180 days of followup services. About 13 percent of the enrollees were in job entry in the first quarter. This dropped to 11 percent in the January-March quarter and then climbed back to the 13 percent level for the last quarter. However, the percentage of enrollees waiting for job placement increased during the fiscal year from 4 to 8 percent.

Enrollment levels in the orientation and assessment phases of the program increased over the year. These components are relatively small and, since almost all participants pass through them, they naturally increase in size as the program expands. Average enrollment in these components rose from 7,400 to 9,500 over the year.

Similarly, enrollment in the job experience component rose from 3,800 to 4,800 between the first and fourth quarters. Job experience includes all activities that take place in an actual work situation in which WIN participants perform or learn an assigned task and develop basic work habits. This category also includes participants who are in special work projects.

KUM



Bobby Mitchell Advises Aspiring Athletes To Hit Books as Hard as Opponents

A quarter of a century ago Jackie Robinson broke the color line in professional baseball. Since then blacks have moved into virtually all the major sports, and last summer one major league baseball team fielded an all-black squad.

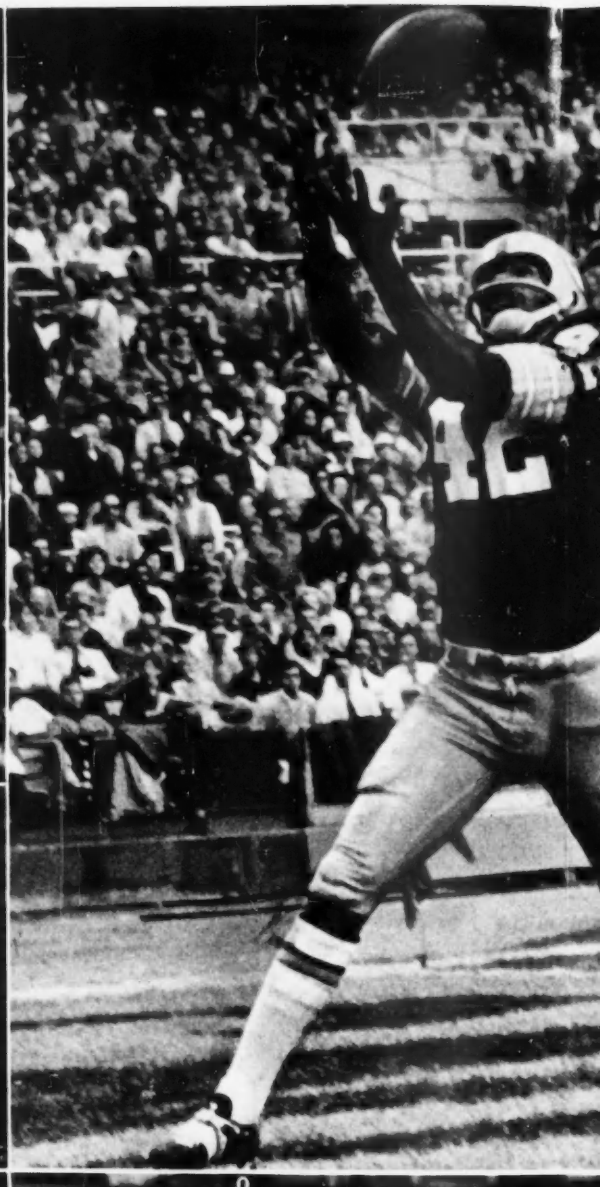
Some questions still remain, however. Are professional sports really free of racial prejudice? Can blacks go into management with the same facility as they move into the ranks of players? Is it realistic for minority youngsters to pursue a career in professional sports to the exclusion of other endeavors?

To get the answers to these and similar questions, MANPOWER interviewed Bobby Mitchell, who retired in September 1969 after an outstanding 11-year career in the National Football League. A 1958 graduate of the University of Illinois, where he starred in football and track, Mitchell played 4 years with the Cleveland

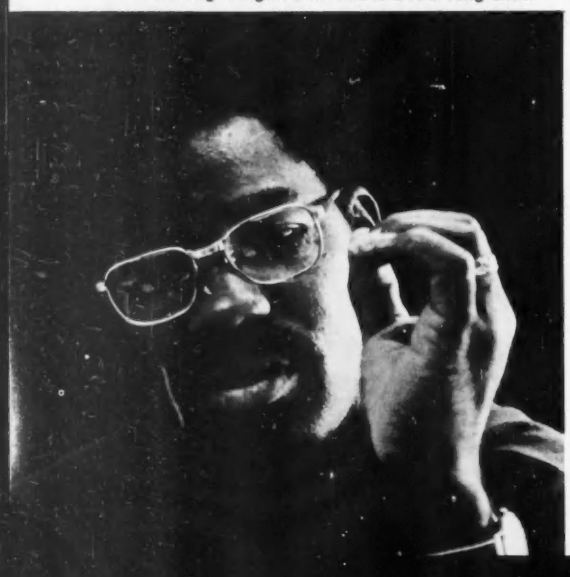
'What I'm concerned about is the team sports, such as baseball, football, and basketball, where one person controls dozens, even hundreds of people.'

Browns and 7 years with the Washington Redskins as a running back and flanker. His career total yardage for rushing, pass receiving, and punt and kick returns of 14,077 has been surpassed by only one other player in professional football history—Jim Brown.

Mitchell, who has a bachelor's degree in marketing, now owns a Washington, D.C., insurance agency, is a consultant for Pepsi-Cola, a scout for the Redskins, and a paid after-dinner and inspirational speaker. He



"Making it big in athletics is a real long shot."



20

OWENS
23

lives in Washington with his wife and two children.

Q. Mr. Mitchell, because of the Willie Mayses, the Wilt Chamberlains, and the Bobby Mitchells, many minority youngsters think athletics are the road to fame and fortune. What is your view?

A. It's partly true, of course. These youngsters read about the great name athletes and think that they can do real well financially in sports. But it's misleading. A lot of youngsters who get a shot at a professional sport never make it. For the few, athletics is a step to security and fortune but all the majority get out of it is a great deal of confusion.

Q. What happens to those who don't make it?

A. This failure often has a real adverse effect. Many of them end up going back home and they can't seem to find their niche in life because they are still thinking about becoming great athletes and they can't seem to shake it. But those with college backgrounds often go on to jobs in other fields. There are quite a few guys who didn't make it in sports and it turned out to be the best thing for them. These men turned out to be fine businessmen, lawyers, and so forth. Who's to say that, in these cases, failure in sports wasn't a lucky break?

Q. So a young man would be well advised to continue his education or learn a skill rather than gambling everything on making it big in athletics?

A. Definitely. In some sports, like baseball, a youngster can go straight from high school to the pro ranks. The smart ones keep going to school and working toward a degree too. They know they might not make it, or they may not become a star and get into the big money. The kid who gets an athletic scholarship to college ought to try to bear down on his studies. Making it big in athletics is a real long shot. Take a man who plays varsity football. He's just one of 20,000 players among the NCAA (National Collegiate Athletic Association) teams. The National Football League will draft about 440 players a year and of these maybe 170 will survive the cut. So all of a sudden we're down from 20,000 to 170. And even that's not the whole story. Of the 170, how many will survive the first season?

Some kid will say, "I'm a positive thinker. I know I'm going to make it." I signed a lot of them this past year and they were some of the first kids who went home. The coaches, the scouts, and the players know that it's just talk. Action is what counts in the big leagues.

Q. Did you have any doubt that you were going to make it?

A. I'm not a very good example, because pro football was the furthest thing from my mind. I was very excited about baseball in high school and turned down a baseball contract to go to college. You see, if I didn't make it in baseball I would have been considered a pro anyway and couldn't have gotten an athletic scholarship. And I was determined to finish college. All through college I had one thing in mind other than my education. That was to go to the Olympics in track, which was my favorite sport. I took football by chance and when they offered me a pro contract, I thought I'd try it and if I could play 2 years, I'd be the happiest guy in the world. So I played 11 years. But when I started out, I never thought I'd be playing professional sports.

Q. What are the pay scales in professional football?

A. They're a disappointment to youngsters who read about those $100,000 contracts. You can count those on one hand quick—in any sport. The average in football falls around $20,000. And keep in mind longevity. The average player lasts only 4 or 5 years. So it behooves a kid to protect himself with a good educational background.

Q. Let's talk about injuries. Do they blight the prospects of a great number of young men?

A. Yes. Sometimes a great athlete gets hurt in high school and it plagues him forever. It's really bad if it happens, say in the third year of college. Then he has a decision: Should I try to overcome the injury or should I forget sports and start hitting the books? But you can't make up 3 years of lost study in 1 so he convinces himself he can overcome the injury, and I cut him the first day in camp. Now he's back home and didn't protect himself in school by hustling and he has no job.

Q. Do athletes injured in training have any contract protection?

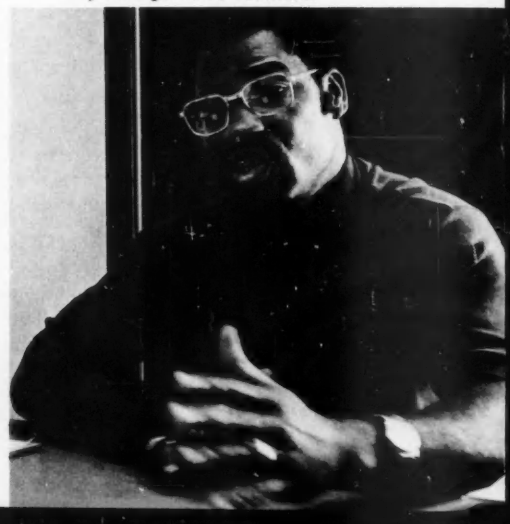
A. Yes. All our players are protected by a standard clause that says anyone hurt during training or the regular season will receive his salary for that year.

Q. In August, the National Basketball Association announced six players were eligible to be drafted under the hardship rule. What do you think of this new rule?

A. It's both good and bad. For years, professional football and basketball have followed the rule against signing college players until they finish their schooling or until their class has graduated. This helped discourage players from dropping out of college. But the National Basketball Association this past summer adopted the hardship rule on a trial basis to allow exceptions. A man can be drafted earlier if he's in financial trouble, is making bad grades, or can't find work in other fields. There's a whole set of criteria. In football we're sticking to the old rule, with no exceptions. In other words we would not take any kid until his class has graduated. So if a youngster thinks he's going to play professional football by bypassing college, he can forget it.

I don't like the idea of going onto campuses and getting these youngsters before they are ready. Being a black man, I can well understand how the hardship rule can help some of the black kids, but my family didn't have that much and I turned down a pro baseball contract and I believe that some of these hardship cases could hold on, too.

"... the first time I missed a freshman scrimmage, I was ... told, 'Look here, you've got to be out there.'"



Q. What are the chances of setting up a special fund to help these hardship cases finish school?

A. Well, you have a problem. You've got so many schools now going a little past the NCAA rules to keep these kids in school. Subsidization is reaching the point where some of the players are getting a little more than they should be getting. It's making the kids money hungry and you can see the problems we are running into now in the National Football League signing them to contracts. This might sound strange coming from me, because when I played I wanted everything I could get, too. But there is a limit and it's stupid to go to the courts and to hire agents to try to get money beyond what is there. It all stems from kids being subsidized too much in college. He gets in the habit of always reaching for more and then ends up getting hurt because eventually the club has to say, "That's it." He plays no more. He doesn't even reach his longevity.

Q. You were a successful player and now you're a successful businessman. Do many former athletes have this much success?

A. Blacks do better than people might think. The National Football League tries to help by keeping up with ex-ball players but, of course, the league can't keep up with everybody. Some black players aren't doing as well as I would like to see but many more are doing very well. I don't mean they are millionaires or presidents of top corporations but they do find good responsible jobs with various firms and organizations and are making a very good living—thanks to their college degrees.

Q. What's the main problem for an ex-ballplayer trying to build a new career?

A. He's older and he's competing for jobs with men who came out of school when he did, but who have several years of experience already.

Q. Probably this is particularly difficult for those who didn't make a big name in sports?

A. That's right. The mediocre player has no name to help him. He has a money problem, too. His salary as a player may not be a whole lot, but it's usually much higher than he can expect to start for in the business world. Money is a problem for most professional athletes, no matter if he makes $15,000 or $50,000. It usually takes him 3 years before he finds out what to do with it, who to trust, where to invest, how to get his home in order. Then his career may be over at the end of his fourth or fifth year.

Q. Given the high pressure nature of college football and basketball, does the minority youngster on an athletic scholarship have time to study and really learn a profession?

A. This is a real problem. It used to be worse when I played in the fifties because there was more danger then that athletes who didn't produce would lose their scholarships. I was participating all year round, with football and indoor and outdoor track. During the football season my grades were atrocious. I was lucky to be in school. During the track season I brought my grades back up. Football takes up all your time. When I got to Illinois I was told, "We don't want you to think about anything but those books. Forget about football because we want our kids to graduate." But the first time I missed a freshman scrimmage, I was pulled aside and told, "Look here, you've got to be out there." There are schools that practice their boys at night, sometimes till 11 o'clock. When do they study?

Q. Doesn't travel also take a lot of time?

A. When I was in college I was sometimes out of school more than I was in. Traveling is a part of big-time college sports. The schools need the money but from the athlete's point of view it's really tough. I was fortunate because I could balance my bad first semester grades during the football season with good grades in the second semester when I was in track. But think of a kid who plays football and basketball and maybe baseball. He's never in class.

Q. Those hardship cases. If they don't make it in professional sports, what's going to happen to them?

A. Well, they've lost their athletic scholarships. They're going to either have to try and find some way to go back to school or go out like the average guy who doesn't get an education and look for a job. Actually most of these kids will sign multi-year contracts which means they're guaranteed a stipulated amount of money for a certain

"... a kid who plays football and basketball and maybe baseball. He's never in class."

"I wish we could make them all understand how important it is to go back off season and get the degree."

"Sports are part of society and society doesn't change because I put on a football uniform."

number of years. So if they don't make it, they have the money to go back to school, or they can go back during the off season and keep working towards their degrees. But what it really boils down to is when a kid comes to pro sports and has not gotten a college degree, he seldom goes back. He can't see past all that money. I wish we could make them all understand how important it is to go back off season and try to get the degree. They'll need it when they're through playing or in case they fail.

Q. Getting back to the mediocre player. Obviously nothing can hold back the stars like O. J. Simpson and Hank Aaron and Oscar Robertson. But does a mediocre minority player have a tougher time making the pros than a mediocre white?

A. This has been true in the past.

Q. How about the present and the future?

A. Discrimination in its purest form will never be eliminated in sports. Sports are part of society and society doesn't change because I put on a football uniform. Just because I play football with a white fellow and we block and tackle for each other doesn't mean we go home and hob nob together. He goes to Bethesda and I go to Washington, D.C., northwest. We both want money and we work for that goal. Blacks have fought so hard for equality in sports that people have turned this thing around. When practice is over, a white player and I don't need to go home together but what we need to do is make sure that each of us has equality in terms of ability and salary.

What I'm really concerned about is the black guy who's out there breaking his neck and the white guy doing the same but getting a hell of a lot more money. But I think the football commissioner and the owners have just about got that straightened out.

Q. You were a star on the playing field and now you're in management. How are pro football and baseball about bringing mediocre black players into management?

A. Just look around. In football, baseball, and basketball, the top positions are held by whites who were mediocre players. Of course you have Ted Williams and Otto Graham, but they're exceptions. I've known a lot of smart young blacks who didn't have a lot of football ability but they would have been balls of fire in the front office. They're eliminated and we never see them again. But look, I don't want you to sit here and say black stars like Bobby Mitchell are getting the jobs. Because that's not happening very often either.

Q. In both professional football and baseball, there are no black managers or head coaches. What about future prospects?

A. I would image in a very short time there is going to be *a* black manager in baseball. In the National Football League there are no head coaches but we do have some assistant coaches. In terms of total integration in the coaching ranks, both baseball and football, progress is being made. I think the one thing that has kept the black guy out of the top spot has been this old stigma of "difference in brains."

Q. From what you've said, black players have very good opportunities in pro football and baseball. How about the other sports, like tennis and golf?

A. Golf has been tough because black people just never had golf courses or what was available was too crowded. So we never got very interested. Right now you can only name a handful good enough for the top circuit. We've been so far behind it will be quite some time before we have many stars in golf. I'm not worried about golf in terms of blacks getting in. It's going to happen. Tennis, I sort of equate with golf. We just never went to the tennis court. I think that any black kid now that wants to can go as high as he wants in tennis. The problem in tennis and golf is money. We don't have the money to go on the tours.

Actually, I guess I'm not concerned about sports where so much depends on the individual performer. What I'm concerned about is the team sports, such as baseball, football, and basketball, where one person controls dozens, even hundreds of people.

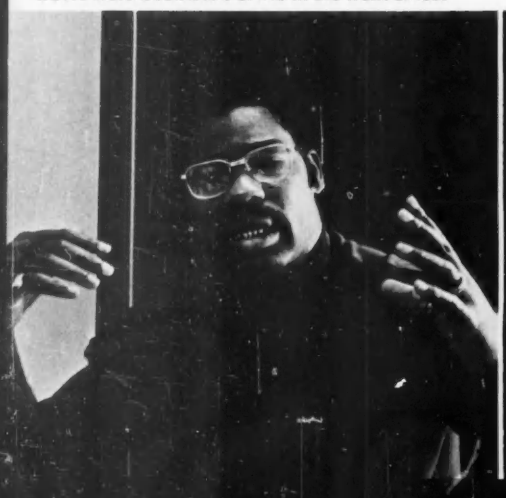
Q. You majored in marketing in college. What courses do you think would be most helpful to blacks on athletic scholarships for building future careers?

A. Years ago you would tell a young black to study to be a school teacher or perhaps to be a black doctor. But that isn't true anymore. I know black doctors who probably have as many white patients as black. I can't think of any area now where a black doesn't stand a good chance. I'll tell you my own situation. When I went to Illinois in 1954, I wanted to be a dentist. But when I tried to enroll in dental school, the Athletic Department called me aside and told me, "You can't go in there. We can't control what will happen to you and we don't know if you can make it." I've always been upset about that because I might have been a heck of a dentist. It should have been my decision.

Q. They thought dentistry would take up too much of your time?

A. Yes, and they were worried about the brains, too. But being black wasn't the whole thing. They did it to white athletes, too. They didn't want us in areas like engineering, medicine, and dentistry that

"I've known a lot of smart young blacks who didn't have a lot of football ability but they would have been balls of fire in the front office."



"They didn't want us in areas like engineering, medicine, and dentistry that would keep us away from the practice field too much."

XUM

would keep us away from the practice field too much. Kids don't have to worry so much about that now. Schools are set up on the quarter system so you can arrange your schedule to do what you want.

Q. Johnny Unitas played for the University of Louisville, which is not big time in terms of football. When he graduated he played the sandlots for a year or two before he was discovered and brought to the Colts. Would it be possible for a black player to do what Unitas did?

A. Possibly. Big Daddy Lipscomb didn't play any college football. He played in the service. But he did have speed and size. A smaller man with less strength wouldn't have been noticed. You can always cite several black guys who managed to do it, but normally it just doesn't seem to happen. He has to make it with a college team and be drafted.

Q. Has the name you made for yourself in football helped you in the business world?

A. Having a name never hurts, but it doesn't help as much as people think. There are many hours of hard work. When I went through training with Pepsi-Cola, I didn't get my briefcase the first day. It took years. But when I talk to these kids, white or black, they don't want to hear about all the hard work. They see me with a desk and a briefcase and that's what they want. They don't want any talk about starting down and working up.

Q. With an insurance business and a position with Pepsi-Cola, why are you still in pro ball?

A. I'm in professional football for one reason and one reason only. I would like to run a football team one day. This is my third year in management in professional sports and I'm in no hurry. Management has to learn that I'm capable, and that I can help them, and they have to make up their minds whether they want a black man as head coach, which of course is the seat of the problem. I've got to overcome all these things and it takes time. But I feel I have made tremendous progress toward that goal.

Q. White stars seem to make a lot of extra money doing TV commercials. Is that true for black players?

A. No. Take Jim Brown, for instance, the greatest runner of all time in the National Football League. He never made the money that the white stars made. In fact, several times Jim Brown and I flew to New York and did commercials and they never showed them.

Q. Were you paid?

A. Yes, but they never used them. So you don't get residuals, and there's no repeat business. If they don't use your first one, they don't call you back for subsequent ones. I just don't think black guys will ever get our share of the advertising market. We get small-scale work certainly but I think the average businessman feels that he can market the white guy much better.

Q. A news magazine recently noted that black movies are among the most successful ones nowadays because downtown movie audiences are composed largely of affluent blacks. Does that give you hope that blacks will become an influential enough market to persuade sponsors to use black athletes to move their products?

A. It depends. I have a feeling the advertisers are still aiming mainly at the suburbs, not at the center city, with their advertising. Being an athlete, I wish black athletes got more commercials. What really makes me feel good is to watch TV and just see black people, period, doing all these commercials, and they are doing a heck of a lot of them now. That's a real joy.

Q. What advice would you give a black youngster who appears to have a high-paying 10- or 12-year athletic career ahead of him?

A. If he's fortunate enough to play that long and make good money, one thing he's got to do is to live way, way below his means. During my 11 years in pro football, I lived half as good as I could afford to live, so that once I quit football I could live as well as I wanted to live. I guess that's the best way to say it. He's got to live way below his means.

Q. And invest the rest?

A. Invest the rest. Set it aside. That's the key.

Q. If I'm not mistaken, you used to do a lot of free television and radio commercials for various government agencies, including the Labor Department, as a public service. Was this a way of training yourself?

A. I spoke to thousands—millions if you count broadcasting—without accepting a fee. That was my training. I was getting something from it. Kids are amazed when they hear me speak 45 minutes without notes, but I've done it so often I can speak 50 times and give 50 different speeches. So I got something from all those free speeches and broadcasts. You can't learn to be a speaker unless you go out and speak.

Q. Is there money in speaking engagements?

A. Oh, gee, yes.

Q. The speaking abilities that you developed while you were a playing star—did this help lead you to a job with Pepsi?

A. Everything I'm doing now has come from that training I forced myself to take. You know how college is. It teaches you all the major things—the big picture—and not the practical things. College enables you to grasp things faster and understand quicker but you still have to be trained. It enabled me to learn faster. That was important because I have always worked two or three jobs all my life, and this too is a part of my training. Everything I've learned helps me in football, because if one of our players comes in here with a problem, I've got a larger store of experience to draw on to help him. That's got to be beneficial to the Washington Redskins.

Q. And now your big ambition is to be a trailblazer for black coaches and managers?

A. That's right. I've made some financial sacrifices but that's all right. I made good money in football and invested it in such a way that I could afford to do it. I've got a good boss here at the Redskins, Tim Temerario, our personnel director, and I've learned from him. I consider him the most knowledgeable man in pro football in the front office. So I learned football from 11 years on the field, and now I'm learning personnel and my training with Pepsi and my own business has taught me to handle the paper work. So I'm ready. □

The Shifting Ph.D. Job Market

by Phyllis E. Lehmann

In the past year, the unemployed scientist has rivaled the Middle American as a favorite subject for media analysis and cocktail party chatter. Indeed, the job market has tightened considerably for scientists, who throughout the sixties had been enthusiastically courted by employers. A spring 1971 survey of about half the Nation's scientists by the National Science Foundation (NSF) found their unemployment rate up to 2.6 percent from 1.5 percent a year earlier.

Yet, despite dire predictions of a Ph.D. surplus and mass unemployment among the most educated segment of American society, the situation has not reached disaster proportions. While unemployment is a most serious matter for the individual faced with it, on the whole, the 2.6 percent jobless rate for scientists was less than half the average rate of 5.9 percent for all workers during the first quarter of 1971 and even below the rates considered to represent "full employment" during periods of peak prosperity.

The current uneasiness, however, is producing a number of effects. One of the most important may be a new look at college education, particularly at the doctoral level. Some analysts are cautioning that unless the Nation's colleges and universities revise the entire framework of graduate education, a great deal of human resources will be wasted in future decades.

According to Dr. Wayne C. Hall, formerly director of fellowships for the National Research Council (NRC) of the National Academy of Sciences and now vice president for research and graduate studies at the State University of New York at Binghampton, "the heretofore sacrosanct nature of the research-based Ph.D." will need to be questioned and Ph.D.'s will have to prepare for different roles in society. He notes that "to assume that all of the highly specialized research-based Ph.D.'s our first-rate graduate schools are capable of producing in the future can be placed in prestigious universities or that their research expectations can be met in the future is . . . highly untenable and illogical."

Job Market Tightens

Many reports on unemployed scientists stress the plight of new Ph.D. graduates who cannot find jobs. But the unemployment rate for this group, while rising, is less than two-thirds that for all scientists. Although science Ph.D.'s who received their degrees in 1970 faced a tighter job market than did 1969 graduates, almost all found employment, according to a recent survey by the NRC. Dr. William Kelly, director of the NRC's Office of Scientific Personnel, which conducted the survey, termed the job situation "much less bad than some commentators have indicated, yet serious enough to cause worry because talent and resources are being wasted."

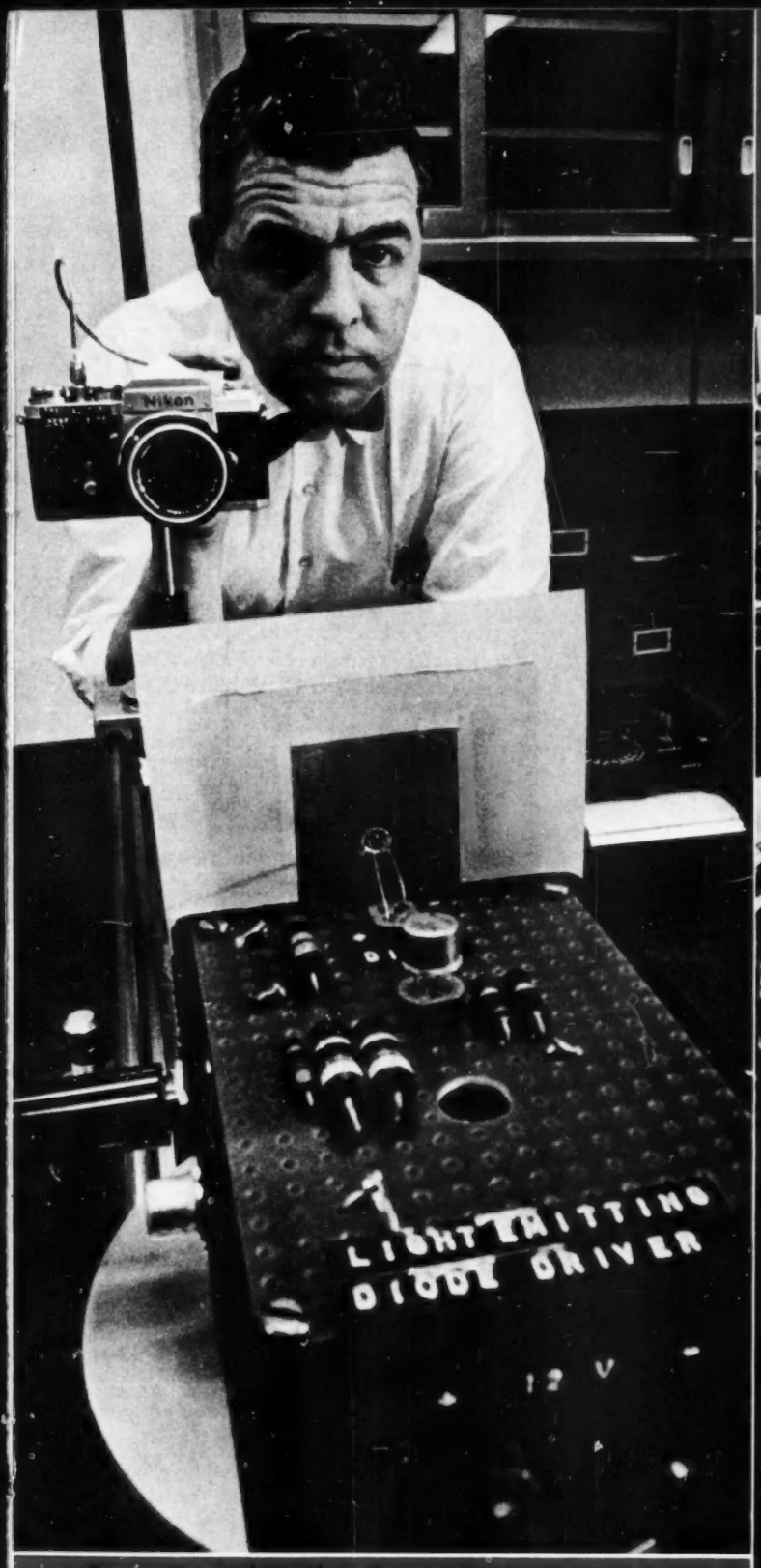
The survey of academic department chairmen representing some 13,000 1970 Ph.D.'s in engineering and the natural and social sciences showed that 1.2 percent of the new graduates were working in jobs unrelated to their doctoral training, and 1.6 percent were unemployed. In 1969, 0.9 percent were reported as unemployed and 0.7 percent underemployed.

All graduate fields surveyed reported increasing difficulties between 1968 and 1970 in placing new Ph.D.'s in suitable employment, but there was little difference among the fields. One exception was physics, which was hardest hit with 5 percent either unemployed or underemployed. The outlook appeared brightest in the social sciences (excluding psychology), where the unemployment rate was 1.4 percent.

The survey indicates that the job market also is tighter for postdoctorals—people seeking employment after a year or more of post-Ph.D. training. Of those who left their university departments in 1970, 2.2 percent were unemployed, compared with 5.5 percent in mid-winter 1971, when the survey was taken. Department chairmen also reported that the percentage of postdoctorals retained in their departments for lack of job opportunities elsewhere has roughly doubled each year since 1969.

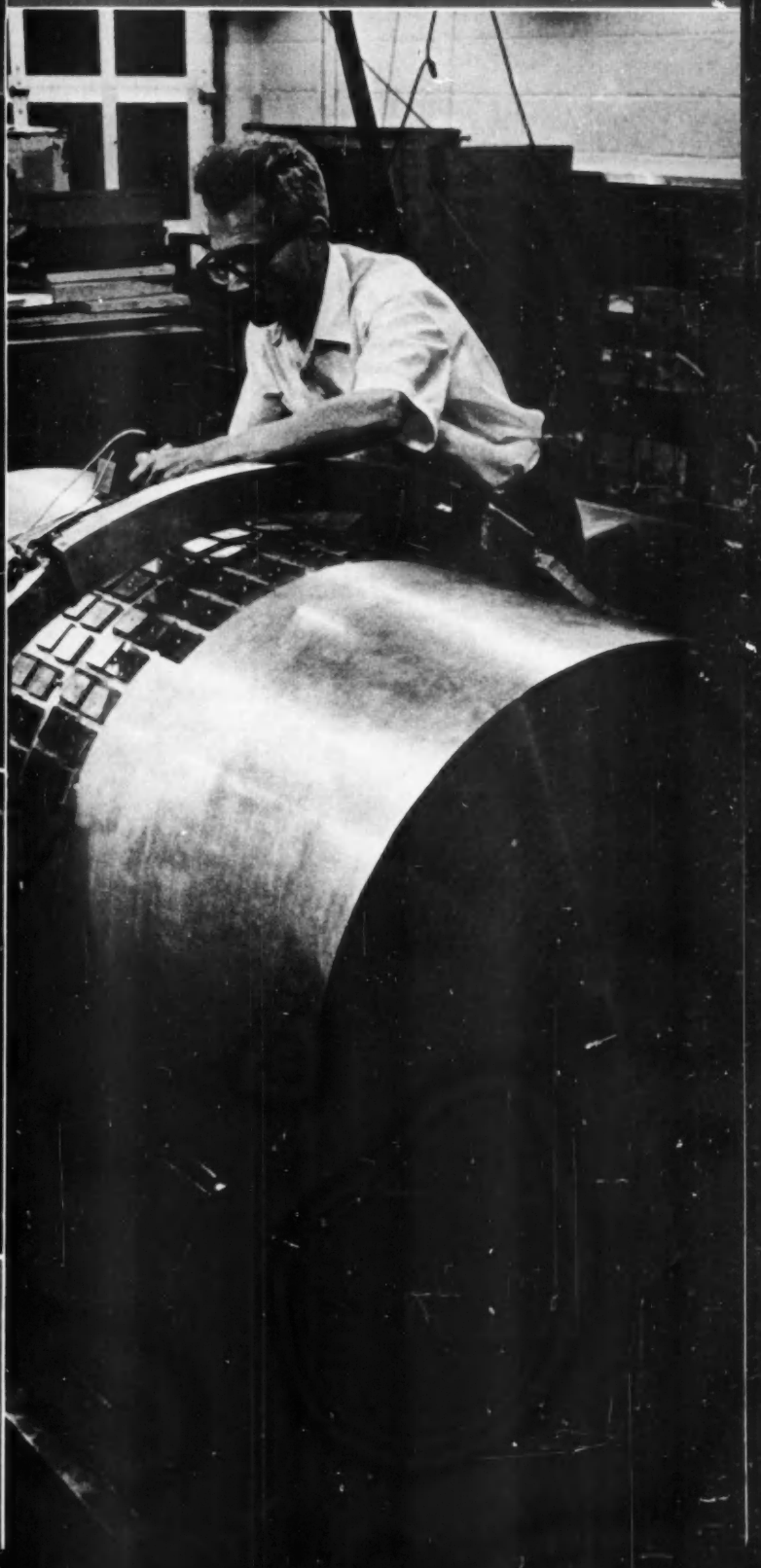
Mrs. Lehmann is a writer for the National Academy of Sciences.

XUM



Opportunities and demand in product-related work probably will take up some of the slack caused by the decline in research positions. Here Dr. Russell S. Holland, a chemist in the Photo Products Department at DuPont's Chestnut Run Laboratory, photographs the response of film to light of a specific wavelength.

Dr. Joseph Weber, a research physicist at the University of Maryland, makes an adjustment on a special antenna developed to detect and measure gravitational waves. The future Ph.D. job market is expected to reflect some deemphasis of university-based research and more interest in applied science and interdisciplinary fields.



Research scientist Dr. Eric E. Daby of the Ford Motor Company works on a device developed by Ford's research staff to measure atmospheric samples. The instrument is a nitric oxide and ozone optical detector.

After beginning his career in the firm's laboratory, Marshall R. Hatfield (center) has moved up to general manager of the New Business Ventures Division of 3M Company in St. Paul. Hatfield, who has a doctorate in chemistry, served as research manager and technical director before taking over his present position. Here he confers with members of his marketing staff.

Professor Joseph Coffey assists two students in his chemistry class at St. Louis' Forest Park Community College. Dr. Coffey worked as a chemical engineer in private industry before joining the instructional staff of the St. Louis-St. Louis County Junior College District in 1963.

The percentage of new graduates entering postdoctoral study or training increased from almost 10 percent in 1969 to more than 14 percent in 1970. While some of the new Ph.D.'s undoubtedly sought haven in postdoctoral training because of the tighter job market, the sharp increase in the number going on to such study reflects more than the employment situation. Studies by the NRC's Office of Scientific Personnel have shown over the past decade a marked trend away from definite commitments to regular employment immediately after receipt of the doctorate and toward some type of postdoctoral position in which new Ph.D.'s pursue both teaching and research under mentors—a situation which provides further training but which keeps them temporarily off the professional transmission belt toward faculty tenure and status.

The percentage of graduates choosing postdoctoral study instead of employment differs widely among individual fields of study. About 1 of every 3 graduates in the natural sciences chooses postdoctoral study, while less than 2 of every 100 in the humanities, arts, and professions select further training. The trend is most pronounced in the biological sciences, where currently more than 38 percent of new Ph.D.'s go on to further study. This is usually a mutually advantageous arrangement for both senior researchers and new graduates, and its growing popularity should not be attributed solely to job market fluctuations.

Despite a job situation less discouraging than has been pictured, the NRC report cautions that "any deficit of jobs must nevertheless be a matter of national concern, and reliance solely on market adjustments to an oversupply would be both callous and unwise. The large national investment in graduate education and the valuable human resources at stake demand that any involuntary underemployment or unemployment of doctorate recipients be corrected."

Even though the vast majority of new Ph.D.'s and postdoctorals do find suitable employment, the effects of the tightened job market are felt in ways not reflected in numbers. For example, most graduates receive far fewer job offers than did their predecessors a few years ago, and they are much less free to choose among employers and select those who offer the choicest geographic locations or the most attractive fringe benefits. Nor, are they as likely to find jobs within the narrow field of research in which they specialized in graduate school.

There is also the complex problem of what constitutes suitable employment for a Ph.D. In the NRC survey, "appropriate work" included a faculty or research staff appointment in any university, college, or junior college, a research or research administration position in industry, government, or elsewhere, or any professional position which was the deliberate choice of the graduate. Yet, from the point of view of society at large, many other kinds of

XUM

employment—high school teaching, for example—might be judged suitable for Ph.D.'s.

With regard to all scientists, the National Science Foundation survey in spring 1971 revealed that those with doctorates had the lowest jobless rate—1.4 percent. Scientists holding master's degrees were the hardest hit with an unemployment rate of 3.7 percent. The rate for bachelor's degree holders was 3.5 percent. More than half of the unemployed scientists covered by the survey were in chemistry and physics which had jobless rates of 3 percent and 3.9 percent, respectively.

Jobless rates greater than 3 percent were reported for sociology, political science, and computer science. Agricultural scientists had the best job outlook with an unemployment rate of 0.9 percent. Among employed scientists responding to the survey, 5.6 percent reported that they were working in nonscience jobs in 1971. Of those, roughly a third had accepted nonscience positions since March 1970.

Doctorate Production Soars

Not surprisingly, more than 40 percent of the jobless scientists were located in the most populous States. However a wide variety of States—Washington, California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Arizona, and Nevada—had an unemployment rate higher than 3 percent. During the first quarter of 1971, the Department of Labor designated 14 areas of the country as severely affected by unemployment of scientists, engineers, and technicians.

The NSF survey found that scientists under 30 had the highest jobless rate—3.5 percent—of all age groups. And the majority of unemployed scientists covered by the survey were under 40. However, there are indications that some new Ph.D.'s find jobs at the expense of older scientists and engineers. Older people who lose their jobs must compete more and more at a disadvantage with young graduates who are more mobile, are willing to accept lower salaries, and who need a smaller supporting staff than more experienced persons. Further, new Ph.D.'s have behind them academic advisors, professors, and professional societies committed to placing them in suitable jobs.

In contrast, reductions in personnel in academic departments or research laboratories throw large numbers of older scientists into the job market in the same geographic area at the same time. Often they have similar backgrounds and skills and are less able or willing to change locations. Also, in the case of massive reductions, high-level personnel who might in other circumstances help an individual find employment are looking for work themselves.

The current job slump is occurring at a time when rapid growth in graduate education is reaching a peak. The number of doctorate-granting institutions and the number of doctorates granted has increased tremendously since 1940. It is estimated that the total annual number of doctorates produced will exceed 60,000 by 1980. Full-time graduate students at both the master's and doctorate levels are expected to total 800,000 by 1975 and 1.4 million by 1980.

Despite gloomy reports from the job market, the Ph.D. pipeline is operating at peak production. A National Research Council survey of Ph.D. candidates themselves showed that in fiscal 1970 14 percent more research Ph.D.'s were granted than in 1969—an increase that represents the highest growth rate since the immediate post-World War II years.

Nor has the job market changed the expectations of new graduates. About 80 percent of the 1970 graduates surveyed indicated that they expected to enter regular employment, while 14 percent planned to pursue postdoctoral study or training. Although a slightly larger percentage was planning on postdoctoral study in 1970 than 4 years earlier, the percentage expecting to enter regular employment has remained almost exactly the same.

There are several reasons why the employment picture has not been reflected significantly in the academic world. Dr. Hall points out that an economic recession does not necessarily deter students from pursuing higher academic degrees. Some may feel there is no place for them in the job market and choose to remain in school. Those who are already far along in their doctoral program may decide to work harder and get out into the labor force before the employment situation worsens.

Furthermore, the educational process, especially on the doctoral level, does not respond quickly to changes in the economic picture. Dr. Lindsey Harmon, director of research for the NRC's Office of Scientific Personnel, says: "The Ph.D. pipeline is a long one and cannot be turned on or turned off in a short time. Several years ago when there was a great deal of interest in certain fields, such as physics, people started through the pipeline. At this point, they can't just stop, so most decide to go on and get their degrees and hope for the best."

Dr. Harmon also points out that students' choices and goals cannot always be linked too closely with supply and demand. For example, some students began to become disillusioned with the highly research-oriented scientific fields and turn to the social sciences in a search for relevancy at a time when graduates in the "hard" sciences were enjoying peak employment opportunities.

Financial Pinch Feared

However, there is a concern that the employment situation, which in the opinion of many authorities has been overplayed, may cause students to shun certain fields of study, thus creating future shortages of skilled personnel.

Graduate enrollment in the sciences and engineering declined 0.8 percent between 1969 and 1970, according to information provided the National Science Foundation by more than 200 doctorate-granting institutions. More significant because of its effect on future production of doctorates was the 3 percent decline in the number of first-year full-time graduate students. Also, institutions with high-rated graduate programs had relatively lower first-year enrollment in the sciences and engineering than other institutions. The 10 leading physics departments, for example, reported the greatest decrease—more than one-third fewer students in 1970 than in 1969.

Another serious effect is the reduction in financial support of graduate education and research, especially in those fields reportedly hardest hit by the employment slump. In congressional testimony in favor of retaining National Science Foundation training and fellowship programs, Dr. Philip Handler, president of the National Academy of Sciences, noted that those in favor of such reductions argue that technological unemployment is already a problem and may worsen. He contended that "young people just entering graduate training will not become available to the

'labor market' for 5 to 7 years, and quite clearly we shall, for the indefinite future, require a continuing supply of young people entering scientific careers. To think otherwise is a vote of lack of confidence in the national future. We may perhaps be well advised to reduce the number somewhat . . . but surely to reduce the numbers to zero is an absurdity."

There are many who agree that changes will have to occur in American graduate education but that such changes must come in the form of a rational overhaul of the system. The answer does not lie in abolishing graduate degree programs or in discouraging students from pursuing advanced studies. Instead it will be necessary to redirect their talents and prepare them for broader roles in society.

Dr. Allan M. Cartter, chancellor of New York University, has been warning colleges and universities for at least 7 years that most academic fields would have an oversupply of Ph.D.'s by the beginning of the seventies. In an article in SCIENCE, published by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Dr. Cartter said that America has created a graduate education and research establishment in American universities that on its present course "would result in about one-third too many Ph.D.'s produced in the latter part of the decade, and perhaps one-half too many in the 1980's, for the types of employment we have known in the past."

Sound Counseling Stressed

He emphasized that this would not necessarily mean widespread unemployment for Ph.D.'s because they would tend to "bump" those with lesser credentials. However, an increasing proportion of Ph.D.'s could expect to hold jobs unrelated to their training and thus be classed as underemployed.

Dr. Hall doesn't believe students should be discouraged from working toward a Ph.D. but that they should receive sound counsel. "We shouldn't lead students down the traditional research pathway if they are not highly motivated for research," he says. "The current need is in applied sciences. For example, employment chances in pure mathematics probably won't be so good even 10 years from now, but there is a great need in applied mathematics."

He maintains further that "society doesn't need everyone trained to the highest level. The Ph.D. has been overemphasized to the point where it has become a union card for employment." Too often students are pushed by parental or societal pressures to attain higher degrees which they might neither want nor need. Dr. Hall believes that one of the greatest hopes for curtailing the Ph.D.-for-everyone trend may lie with young people themselves who are increasingly questioning the present educational system and its values.

The NRC's Dr. Kelly contends that the Nation will never have a surplus of Ph.D.'s because of changes that will occur both within higher education and in the professional job market. He points out that there will always be some problem of adjustment as change forces highly trained people to turn from one specialty to another. "However, such flexibility is characteristic of Ph.D.'s who include some of our brightest people. I can't believe the country will ever have an oversupply of such people."

In the future, not all doctoral students will automatically be able to choose teaching and research positions at the leading universities and industrial think tanks. Although the United States will always need able scientists to perform basic research in all scientific fields, the trend will be more and more away from pure research in narrow fields of specialization. Industry, for example, can be expected to foster more interest in applied science and in interdisciplinary fields. Smaller and medium-sized companies often have a greater need for the versatile scientist who can apply his knowledge to solving practical industrial problems rather than for the researcher who concentrates on answering basic scientific questions.

Similar changes will begin to take place in the Nation's graduate schools. Doctoral training for some students, Dr. Kelly believes, will emphasize a synthesis of knowledge in a particular field rather than narrow specialization. Teaching skills also will be stressed. Currently, many Ph.D.'s teach in the college classroom almost as a sideline to their interests in the laboratory. Many have had no preparation for teaching and lack a broad general knowledge in their fields. In the future, there probably will be a greater effort among graduate departments to turn out broadly trained physics teachers, for example, rather than specialists in elementary particle physics or other specific research areas. The new doctor of arts degree which is being widely considered in academic circles represents a move in this direction. Such a degree would imply that the recipient had received broader training than the Ph.D.

These changes do not mean that research will be ignored. The traditional disciplines can be expected to remain strong, but they will no longer be so exclusive of each other. Universities will create more interdisciplinary institutes and centers, where students from a number of fields can work in such programs as environmental sciences which require expertise in a variety of scientific disciplines.

'Rigid Specialization' Hit

In a report on the manpower situation in physics, the Economic Concerns Committee of the American Physical Society suggests that some physicists might branch out into areas of social need and find new employment opportunities on hospital staffs, as science advisors in secondary school systems, and on the teaching staffs of junior colleges. The report also calls on physics departments to reexamine their training programs for careers in which employment opportunities are diminishing and to direct their students toward research competence in several areas.

Although his comment dates back 11 years, educator and former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare John Gardner perhaps best described the outlook for scientific manpower when he wrote:

"On many occasions in the future there will be an imbalance between the number of men trained for a given line of work and the number of jobs available. Attempts will be made to minimize this through accurate forecasts of manpower needs, but experience with such forecasts has been discouraging. The alternative—and the wiser course—is to educate men and women who are capable of applying excellent fundamental training to a wide range of specific jobs.

"Nothing contributes more damagingly to the unemployment of educated talent than rigid specialization and rigid attitudes supporting this specialization. The future is necessarily hazardous for the individual who trains himself to do a specific job, receives an advanced degree for that line of work, and believes that society owes him a living doing it." □

XUM

Extending Jobless Pay to Farmworkers

by James S. Holt

The Employment Security Act Amendments of 1970 added some 5 million new jobs to the 60 million already covered by unemployment insurance, the most significant increase in coverage in the 35-year history of the unemployment insurance system. But agricultural workers—the group which sparked the greatest controversy—remained uncovered by the amendments.

Throughout the debate on agricultural coverage ran a consistent thread of uncertainty: Who are farmworkers? What are their employment patterns? What would be the impact of bringing this large, geographically dispersed seasonal industry into the unemployment insurance system? It is unfortunate but true that despite the fundamental importance of agriculture to our economy, the national debate on farm labor policy remains clouded in lack of information, misinformation, and stereotype.

The 1964 Census of Agriculture counted 3.1 million farms in the United States, of which about half hired some labor. Most of these farms relied entirely on family members for year-round labor and hired only temporary help to meet peak seasonal labor needs. About 10 percent of all farms hired regular workers (those employed 150 or more days a year on the same farm) on a long-term seasonal or year-round basis. In total, farm operators and members of their families constituted about three-quarters of the Nation's farm work force. However, our larger, more productive farms are the principal users of hired labor.

Technological developments have made spectacular changes in farm production techniques since the end of World War II. Output per man-hour has risen three times faster on farms than in nonfarm industries. Because the market for agricultural production expands only at about the rate of total population growth, tens of thousands of farmworkers are no longer needed and have left the farm work force. Farm employment nationally declined by more than 50 percent from 1950 to 1970, while farm production rose substantially.

These same technological developments resulted in rapid enlargement and consolidation of farms. Today the average farm is larger, more highly specialized, and requires substantially greater capital investment than even a decade ago. The last vestiges of the agricultural ladder leading from hired worker to tenant farmer to farm operator have been swept away. In its place a permanent agricultural working force has emerged.

The variety of occupations represented among agricultural workers is as diverse as that of any industry. It includes truck

Mr. Holt is associate professor of agricultural economics and rural sociology at the Pennsylvania State University.

drivers, mechanics, bookkeepers, veterinarians, personnel directors, carpenters, and hundreds of others. But most agricultural workers are farm laborers directly involved in agricultural production. Even among agricultural laborers the myriad of skills represented is not often appreciated by the urbanite. Milking cows, picking mushrooms, running a combine, harvesting apples, and pruning grape vines are only a few of the hundreds of jobs performed by agricultural laborers. Each of these jobs requires skill and experience. A worker skilled at one is not likely to know much about the others. Each job, if not done properly, will result in substantial loss of product.

Agriculture often is referred to as an industry, and farm laborers are lumped together in a single occupational category. In fact, agriculture is a combination of many industries.

Technological developments in agriculture, in combination with increasing urbanization and industrialization of rural areas, has led to a growing integration of the farm and nonfarm population and work force. More than 40 percent of employed persons living on farms work at nonfarm occupations. On the other hand, more than half of those employed as farm laborers do not live on farms. The Nation's rural population often is assumed to be synonymous with its farm population but this is distinctly not the case.

Many workers have migrated to the cities and industry has moved into rural areas seeking those workers who would not move. There is considerable movement between the farm and nonfarm work force, and farm employers have been thrown into increasingly direct competition with nonfarm employers. When employment demand is strong and income levels are good, the recruiting of an adequate farm labor force for year-round or seasonal work becomes very difficult.

Technology may be changing the way in which many farm products are produced, but agriculture—particularly crop agriculture—is still greatly dependent on natural phenomena, such as soil, climate, and weather. This fact produces peaks and dips in labor demand and causes much movement into and out of the farm labor force.

Annual average hired farm employment was officially set at 1.2 million in 1970 by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. It peaked at 1.8 million in July and declined to only 640,000 in December. Because peak labor demand for specific activities occurs at different times and in different parts of the country, many more hired workers are actually employed in agriculture than are working at any one time. In 1970 more than 2.5 million persons did some farmwork for pay at some time during the year. About 8 percent of this number were migrant workers. The remainder commuted from their own homes.

Fully 78 percent of the persons who did hired farmwork in 1970 were students, housewives, and other persons seeking opportunities to supplement their income through temporary farmwork or multiple jobholders who were primarily engaged in other employment. These workers averaged less than 40 days of hired farmwork in 1970.

Persons primarily or exclusively employed in farmwork are the backbone of the hired farm work force. This group made up only 22 percent of the hired farm work force in 1970, though they performed 63 percent of the man-days of farmwork. They worked an average of 251 days, most of it at farmwork.

While temporary workers are vital to the agricultural industry in meeting seasonal labor needs, the reverse can hardly be said to be true. Temporary workers do not have enough employment in agriculture for their welfare to be significantly affected by agricultural labor policy. Agricultural labor policy will have an impact principally on the 540,000 persons who are primarily farmworkers.

Among major occupational groups, farm laborers consistently rank near the bottom in income. In 1969 the median income from all sources of households with heads employed as farm laborers was $3,936—only 38 percent of the median for all households with an employed head. Even including noncash payments such as housing or farm products that some farmworkers receive, this group clearly is in a disadvantageous position compared with others. Average hourly

XUM

earnings of all production and nonsupervisory workers on private payrolls were $3.22 in 1970 compared with $1.64 in agriculture. Also, the unemployment rate among all wage and salaried workers was 4.8 percent in 1970 compared with 7.5 percent for comparable farmworkers.

Agricultural employers and workers were excluded from labor legislation of the depression era, including unemployment insurance. This was due to a number of factors, among them the argument that the close relationship between the farm employer and worker was deemed to make legislation unnecessary, the administrative problems raised by the extremely large number of small farm employers, and the political strength of agricultural interests. Agriculture's political strength has waned in the intervening years and the validity of the other reasons for excluding farmworkers from general labor legislation are being questioned. One compelling reason for this reevaluation is the economic deprivation of farm laborers. Another is that with the declining number of farms and increasing managerial sophistication of farm operators, administrative obstacles to farm labor legislation appear less formidable.

Congress already has responded by extending social security to farmworkers and bringing workers on large farms under a Federal minimum wage. The Manpower Development and Training Act, the Area Redevelopment Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, and other recent legislation have been aimed at helping the economically disadvantaged, including farmworkers.

In 1966 Congress considered extending unemployment insurance to agricultural workers, but no bill was passed. Again in 1970 proposals to cover agricultural workers were considered. The 1970 Employment Security Act Amendments reported out by the Ways and Means Committee and passed by the House did not include agricultural coverage, although there was extensive debate on the topic. The bill was amended to include agricultural coverage in the Senate and approved by the chamber 77-0, but after lengthy discussion a House-Senate conference committee decided to omit coverage of farmworkers. When President Nixon signed the legislation, he expressed disappointment that it did not cover agricultural workers, and indicated his strong desire to have Congress reconsider the matter.

Agricultural coverage under unemployment insurance probably would follow the same general pattern that prevails in other industries. In barest outline the unemployment insurance system collects taxes on payrolls while persons are employed and pays out benefits to eligible workers who become involuntarily unemployed. To understand the impact of extension of unemployment insurance to agriculture, it is necessary to understand how this process works.

The unemployment insurance system is a Federal-State cooperative system. Basic coverage and taxing provisions are shaped by Federal law, but States are free to go beyond the Federal coverage standards and many do. Federal law has little to say concerning payment of benefits, and a bewildering array of practices are in effect in different States. Nevertheless, there are many common features in the various State statutes.

"Coverage" under unemployment insurance applies to employers. Beginning in 1972 employers must pay unemployment insurance taxes on at least the first $4,200 of wages of employees engaged in work specified as subject to the tax. In a few States employees also pay a tax. Although States are not required to cover services performed in agriculture, they are free to do so. So far, only Hawaii, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico require coverage of agricultural work. Almost all States permit employers to elect coverage for their agricultural workers, but relatively few workers are covered on this basis.

Workers are eligible for benefits if they become involuntarily unemployed after having worked for a covered (i.e. tax paying) employer. To receive benefits, a worker must have had enough covered employment to meet minimum criteria that assure he was actually in the labor force and not merely a casual worker. For example, in most States a worker who held a summer job for only 10 weeks earning $500 would be considered a cas-

ual worker and would not be eligible for benefits when his job ended.

The amount and duration of a worker's benefits are dependent on the amount of covered employment and wages he had. Longer employment and higher wages mean more benefits. Once a worker has received all of the benefits he is eligible for, he can become eligible to receive benefits again only by again meeting the minimum criteria for eligibility.

Workers may be disqualified from receipt of benefits if they voluntarily quit their jobs or if they are fired for misconduct. While they are receiving benefits, they must actively seek work, and accept suitable work if it is offered.

The cost of unemployment insurance to employers is the tax they pay on their payrolls. This tax is determined by a complicated formula that varies considerably among States. In most cases, however, the major determinant is experience rating, the practice of basing an employer's tax on the number of claims or amount of benefits paid or payable to his former employees. In some States, employers against whom no claims for benefits are made can have a State tax rate as low as 0.1 percent or even no tax at all. (All covered employers must pay an 0.5 percent Federal tax for administration of the system.) On the other hand, all State laws specify a maximum tax rate regardless of the experience of an employer which in most States is less than 5 percent.

Concern about the extension of unemployment insurance coverage to agricultural workers has generally centered on three points: The effect on agricultural producers' costs, the effect on unemployment insurance tax rates of other employers and the solvency of the system, and the effect on workers' labor force decisions and farm labor supply.

Unemployment insurance taxes will represent an additional cost to farmers hiring labor, and, at least initially, will raise production costs. The magnitude of the increase will vary greatly with the product and with the employer's experience rating. Hired labor costs on farms dropped from 14.5 percent of total production costs in 1949 to less than 8.3 percent in 1969. Since in almost all States the maximum unemployment insurance tax rate is less than 5 percent of taxable wages, the impact on most farm employers' costs would be small. Hired labor costs are substantially higher than the average in fruit, vegetable, and dairy production, and producers of these commodities potentially would feel the greatest impact of the tax.

The costs to farmers of providing unemployment insurance for their workers may be offset, at least partially, by savings stemming from the coverage. Jobless pay may be viewed as an added fringe benefit of agricultural work which could help to increase labor supply and reduce worker turnover. In addition, some farmers are undoubtedly providing some relief to unemployed and underemployed workers during slack periods that may be shifted to the insurance system. Thus the net impact on production costs in agriculture is difficult to estimate.

Increased costs resulting from the unemployment insurance tax may have some effect on the relative competitive position of individual farm employers. The extent to which this occurs would depend on the coverage provision enacted and the unemployment experience of an employer's workers. The provision that passed the Senate in 1970 would have extended coverage to employers of eight or more workers in 26 or more weeks. It would have affected only about 2 percent of the Nation's agricultural employers, thus increasing the labor costs of large employers relative to smaller ones.

However, if the coverage provision now applied to nonagricultural employers were applied to agriculture, all farm employers hiring one or more workers in 20 or more weeks would be included and there would be little impact on competitive position resulting from size of farm. Because of experience rating, employers who can avoid seasonality of employment, or who have access to workers who do not qualify for benefits, are likely to have a lower tax rate than other employers.

Concern has been expressed about the effect of coverage of a highly seasonal industry such as agriculture on the solvency of the unemployment insurance system and the tax rates of nonagricul-

XUM

tural employers. Since maximum tax rates are fixed by law, an excess of benefit payments to agricultural workers over tax revenues generated by agricultural employers would increase the tax rates of other employers or threaten the solvency of the system. It does not necessarily follow, however, that because employment in agriculture is highly seasonal a very large increase in benefit payments will result from agricultural coverage.

As noted earlier, many agricultural workers are students and housewives. Few of these workers have enough employment to qualify for benefits and therefore they would affect the system's payout very little. The unemployment insurance eligibility of the multiple jobholders who also are an important component of the seasonal farm labor force would be determined by their primary occupation, which is not hired farmwork. Some of these workers who do not qualify for benefits based on their primary employment might become eligible by combining their farm and nonfarm work, or they might become eligible for more benefits by combining jobs. However, their impact on payout of the unemployment insurance system could not be great, because their employment in agriculture is brief.

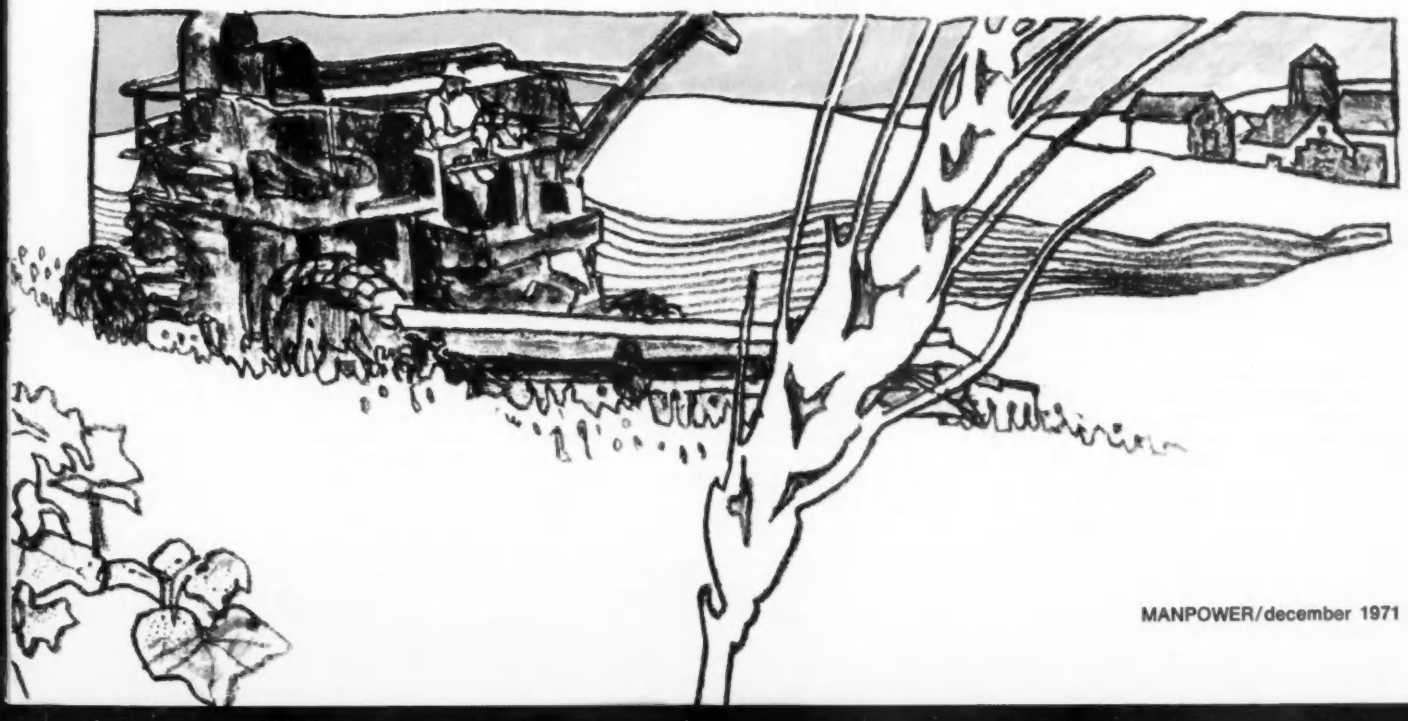
The workers who will have the most substantial impact on cost are the 21 percent of the hired farm work force who are primarily or exclusively engaged in agriculture. And even some of these workers have too little employment to qualify for benefits. Others are employed yearround and thus have no unemployment to claim. Some of these workers will experience 1 or more weeks of compensable unemployment. However, they will constitute only a fraction of the roughly 540,000 workers in the noncasual sector of the hired farm work force. It seems unlikely that such a small number of workers could seriously undermine the fiscal stability of the unemployment insurance system. (Studies are presently underway in 18 States to determine the cost of benefit payments to agricultural workers.)

The effect of covering agricultural workers on labor supply to agriculture is difficult to assess because workers receive benefits only while involuntarily unemployed with no suitable alternative employment. In considering this question it is again useful to consider the major components of the farm labor force.

Temporary workers are not likely to be influenced at all by coverage since they are in the labor force only briefly and will not, in any event, qualify for benefits. "Moonlighters" working in primary jobs which are already covered could be expected to consider agricultural coverage an added benefit, since it would increase their base of covered employment and therefore might increase their potential benefits. This might influence some additional workers to take part-time or seasonal agricultural jobs. Multiple jobholders whose primary employment is not covered would be affected little or none by agricultural coverage.

Again the group most affected would be those primarily or exclusively in the hired farm work force. Rather than move to another job in another area, some of these workers, particularly migrants, might be induced to claim benefits after they had accumulated enough employment to qualify. Such workers would have to weigh the benefit of taking another farm job against the benefits of collecting approximately half their usual earnings in the form of unemployment compensation. (These workers would still be required to accept suitable employment in their home areas if offered.)

In addition to economic impact, there are basic questions of equity and justice that are involved in the debate over unemployment insurance coverage for agricultural jobs. The nature of the work and the employment relationship in agriculture differs little from that in other industries. Indeed, there is a substantial amount of overlap in, and movement between, the farm and nonfarm labor force. And as the integration of agriculture into nonfarm industry progresses, there are more and more firms which have nonagricultural employees who are covered by unemployment insurance and agricultural workers who are not. When workers are laid off, some collect benefits while others do not. Considering the low economic status of the farmworker, this sort of double standard is anachronistic. □



Publications

Following is a selected list of publications on manpower and related matters. Single copies of Manpower Administration and Bureau of Labor Statistics publications for which no price is indicated can be obtained free by writing or telephoning the appropriate organization at the following addresses: Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20210; Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20212. Please enclose a self-addressed label with all requests for free publications. For publications not available free, write the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, and enclose payment.

Back to Work After Retirement

Manpower Administration pamphlet gives facts about employment of older workers in U.S. Gives tips on job hunting; suggests specific job opportunities for retirees; and tells how one may qualify for jobs through Government and private programs. 60 cents.

Interviewing Guides for Specific Disabilities

Individual Manpower Administration interviewing guides, one on Legal Blindness and Blindness and the other on Epilepsy, are designed to acquaint the counselor with the nature of the disability and to assist him in understanding medical terminology associated with it. Useful in assessing applicant's physical capacities in relation to a suitable field of work or specific job.

Indexes of Output Per Man-Hour, Selected Industries, 1937 and 1947-70

Bureau of Labor Statistics bulletin up-dates industry indexes of output per man-hour, output per employee, and unit labor requirements for industries currently included in U.S. Government's productivity measurement program. Soft drinks and petroleum pipelines industries included for first time. Reference year changed to a 1967 base. Bulletin 1692. $1.25.

New Services for Engineers, Scientists, and Technicians

Leaflet discusses Manpower Administration's Technology Mobilization and Reemployment Program to put unemployed highly skilled professionals back to work.

Occupational Manpower and Training Needs

To meet needs of officials concerned with planning, education, and training, Bureau of Labor Statistics 81-page bulletin brings together information on future manpower requirements on more than 230 occupations. Bulletin 1701. 75 cents.

Black Americans—A Chartbook

Bureau of Labor Statistics 141-page profile of changes during past decade in black population, employment, education, and living conditions. Includes 55 charts with supporting tables and brief narratives on 10 topics, and list of bibliographies and references on black Americans. Bulletin 1699. $1.25.

Major Programs 1971

Bureau of Labor Statistics booklet presents, in highly concentrated form, scope of principal programs in which BLS is currently engaged. Presents in compact tabular form selected major characteristics of over 50 programs, grouped into related subject-matter areas with brief narrative for each major grouping. Gives frequency of available data, principal publications in which they appear, and some of the principal uses of the data.

Handbook of Selective Placement in Federal Civil Service Employment

Civil Service Commission pamphlet presents in one reference all facts about Federal employment of the handicapped. Aims to facilitate present teamwork between government officials and rehabilitation personnel in selective placement. Can serve private sector of society as indication of what handicapped workers can do and are doing. 60 cents.

Employment in Perspective: The Negro Employment Situation

Bureau of Labor Statistics report presents in text and tabular form information for 1970 on the employment, unemployment, and labor force characteristics of Negro workers and examines Negro progress up occupational ladders. Report 391.

Productivity and the Economy

Bureau of Labor Statistics report describes productivity movements and shows how they are related to incomes, costs, prices, and employment. Divided into four parts: (1) trends in private economy and major sectors; (2) changes in specific industries; (3) trends in U.S. compared with those in other countries; and (4) projected trends in productivity. Bulletin 1710. 50 cents.

Municipal Public Employee Associations

Bureau of Labor Statistics bulletin, one of a series dealing with public employee collective bargaining and labor relations, is based on mail questionnaire survey of 1,306 public employee associations in 824 cities to analyze characteristics and activities of such associations. Bulletin 1702. 50 cents.

Work Injuries in Atomic Energy, 1969

Fourth in a series of studies prepared by Bureau of Labor Statistics at request of Atomic Energy Commission to determine incidence of employee work injuries in privately owned and operated establishments in atomic energy field. Report 385.

Scholarship Program in Health Professions and Nursing

Leaflets outline selection for scholarship, eligibility requirements, amount of scholarship, and where to apply. Available free from Student Loan and Scholarship Branch, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Bethesda, Md. 20014.

Consumer Expenditures and Income: Survey Guidelines

Bureau of Labor Statistics bulletin documents planning, operation, and evaluation of Survey of Consumer Expenditures, 1960-61, and lays foundation for planning surveys in 1970's. Contains information on sampling and other errors and presents extensive comparisons of the survey findings with data from other sources, principally Bureau of the Census and Office of Business Economics. Includes facsimiles of all questionnaires and forms used in interviewing families. Bulletin's principal purpose is to stimulate ideas and programs for continuing improvement of expenditure surveys. Bulletin 1684. $1.75.

Horizons Unlimited

American Medical Association catalogue examines careers in health service occupations, such as physician, nurse, technologist and technician, dietician, and hospital administrator. Summarizes educational and personal qualifications and sketches duties performed by sundry health workers. Includes list of medical schools and information on financing a medical education. Available free from American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610.

Career Opportunities at the National Institutes of Health

Pamphlet discusses wide variety of professional jobs available at National Institutes of Health in medical and life sciences and in Management Intern Program. Available free from College Relations Officer, National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, Md. 20014.

Student Loan Program in Health Professions and Nursing

Leaflets outline eligibility requirements, loan provisions, interest rates, repayment periods, and work situations that cancel portions of loan to students for health or nursing careers. Available free from Student Loan and Scholarship Branch, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Bethesda, Md. 20014.

Happiness is a regular paycheck.

Hire a Disabled Veteran

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT
OF LABOR
MANPOWER
ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20210

OFFICIAL BUSINESS
PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE $300

PAPER
XEROX CORPORATION
ATT ANN MCCASLIN - UNIVERISTY MICROFILMS
300 N. ZEEB RD
ANN ARBOR, MI 48106

U.S. MAIL
POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
FIRST CLASS MAIL

A man or woman with a criminal record often finds it all but impossible to develop much of a work record. And for those hoping to get a job in the public service that may be true even if the criminal record is only an arrest that was never followed by a formal charge, much less a conviction. A report on a study of the policies and practices of State, county, and local governments in hiring people with criminal or arrest records begins on page 2.

XUM